

**From Monuments to Cinema: The Question of the Counter-Monument in Two Works by
Mark Lewis.**

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A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

September 2003

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ABSTRACT

From Monuments to Cinema: The Question of the Counter-Monument in Two Works by Mark Lewis.

Robert Darcey Nichols

This thesis is a study of two works by the Canadian artist Mark Lewis; the public sculpture *What is to be Done?* (1990-91), and his film *Two Impossible Films* (1995). The first work consists of four 1:6 scale plaster statue replicas of a monumental bronze statue of Lenin toppled at Piata Scinteli in Bucharest, Romania following the removal of the Ceausescu government in 1990. Rescaled from their previous monumentality, Lewis situated these ‘anthropomorphic’ Lenin statues in public sites in the Western cities of Oxford (England), Quebec City, Montréal and Toronto - each facing existing cultural ‘sites’ such as monuments and a museum. The second work of my enquiry is Lewis’ 26 minute, 35mm, looped colour film comprised of two short film segments: ‘The Story of Psychoanalysis’ and ‘Das Kapital’. Though each work is executed in very different mediums, it is my intention to demonstrate how these two works function as counter-monuments. To achieve this, I will consider three moments in the history of the monument. Firstly, in examining the social and political elements surrounding the creation of monuments under Louis XIV I will define what I shall term the ‘conventional monument,’ and secondly, I shall turn to look at the Russian Revolution as a transition period in which the role of the monument was reconsidered. These two moments provide a foundation to my claim that cinema developed as a parallel immaterial monument in the twentieth-century. Through detailing the salient role of propaganda and ideology, I will demonstrate how narratives of rulers are incorporated into the programmes of each model, with attention to theories of space, representation and mass culture. From these histories, I will provide a close reading of Lewis’ two works through considerations of counter-monument practices, the social and political climate at the time of the works, as well as film theory and art-historical contexts to demonstrate how each are succinct commentaries on the role of representation in culture.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to my thesis supervisor Dr. Olivier Asselin for his support and dedication in following this project to completion. His intellectual and personal generosity has sustained my commitment, of which I am deeply appreciative. As well, I would like to thank professors Dr. Joan Acland and Dr. Johanne Sloan for their help as readers of this work. Additionally, I should like to acknowledge the professors throughout my undergraduate and graduate studies in the art history and film department whose classes and teachings provided me with ability to develop a breadth of perspectives and understanding in regards to art history and critical thinking. This thesis is the result of their efforts.

Many thanks to my friends Gyde, Cathleen, Stefan and Jessica, Marlene, and Kyra, for the numerous conversations on art, politics and life, and all the dinners and support through my years at Concordia. Thanks also to Eric for permitting me to stay at the best apartment in Mile End and, again special thanks to Stefan for his 'Strunk and White' editing skills.

I would like to thank my brother Ian and my sister Lynne for their family support throughout this academic journey. In closing, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my mother and to the memory of my late father whose commitment to follow any task started through until completion has been a guiding spirit.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	VI
Introduction	1
Chapter One	8
From the Conventional Monument to the Cinema as Monument: Three Moments.	
Chapter Two	42
Monumental shift: The Counter-Monument and Mark Lewis' <i>What is to be Done?</i>	
Chapter Three	76
Mark Lewis' <i>Two Impossible Films</i> : Cinema as an Immaterial Counter-Monument	
Conclusion	116
Bibliography	121
Figures	130

List of Figures

1. Mark Lewis, *What is to be Done?* (1991), (Lenin) facing Roger Langevin's *Debout* (Felix Leclerc) in Parc Lafontaine, Montréal, Quebec.
2. Mark Lewis, *Two Impossible Films – Das Kapital* and *The Story of Psychoanalysis*, (1995) 35mm colour, cinemascope, sound, transferred to DVD with colour prints and text: 28 min. loop.
3. Vladimir Tatlin, *Monument to the Third International*, model 1919-1920, (now destroyed).
4. Nikolai Kolli, *The Red Wedge Cleaving the White Block* (1918).
5. François Girardon, Equestrian statue of Louis XIV, 1699, Paris, Place Louis-le-Grand. Engraving by Le Pautre.
6. Martin Desjardins, Pedestrian statue of Louis XIV, Paris, Place des Victoires, 1686.
7. Jochen Gerz, *L'arte Corrompe/Caution Art Corrupts/Achtung Kunst korrumpiert*. (1968) Florence.
8. Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz, *Monument against Fascism*, (1986-1993).
9. Mark Lewis, *Two Impossible Films*, (1995), Installation view, Colour prints and wall mounted text.
10. Krzysztof Wodiczko, New Years Eve projection onto the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Arch, Grand Army Plaza, New York City, 11:30pm, 1984 - 12:30am, 1985.
11. Michael Asher, *Untitled installation*, (1979). Bronze copy of George Washington by Jean-Antoine Houdon outside at entrance to the Art Institute of Chicago.
12. Michael Asher, *Untitled installation*, 1979. Interior installation of statue in Art Institute of Chicago.
13. Mark Lewis, *What is to be Done?* (1991), Lenin in Quebec City in front of Boer War Monument.
14. Mark Lewis, *What is to be Done?* (1991), Oxford, England. Lenin facing Oxford Museum of Modern Art.
15. John Heartfield, *Deutsche Naturgeschichte- "German Natural History"*, Photomontage Poster.
16. Mark Lewis, *Two Impossible Films*, (1995), scene from "The Story of Psychoanalysis."
17. Mark Lewis, *Two Impossible Films*, (1995), scene from "Das Kapital."

Introduction

A historical materialist cannot do without the notion of a present which is not a transition, but in which time stands still and has come to a stop. For this notion defines the present in which he himself is writing history. Historicism gives the “eternal” image of the past; historical materialism supplies a unique experience with the past. The historical materialist leaves it to others to be drained by the whore called “Once upon a time” in historicism’s bordello. He remains in control of his powers, man enough to blast open the continuum of history.

-- Walter Benjamin¹

Within culture, history acts as a direct and indirect ideological presence that constructs temporal filaments through various discursive realms situating memories and providing identification for citizens. However, in using the term “history,” it is necessary to acknowledge the heterogeneity of the word, where it is understood to include both official and non-official, communal and personal sites of experience. These sites of history, not surprisingly, are often in conflict with one another and, as expected, reflections upon the past produce further competing viewpoints that suggest counter-narratives to previous commentaries. It is perhaps because artists are dedicated to producing objects that are inserted into ‘history’ either through systems of official consecration, or by the sanction of temporal distance through cultural re-evaluation or reclamation, that artists and their work have a unique engagement with the vagaries of time. Noting this, Benjamin’s aphorism quoted above, along with his extensive oeuvre, has been a crucial inspiration for my interest in the work of artists who examine the framework as well as the fragments of both unofficial and official histories within culture, thereby reinvigorating critical debate and considerations through which historical discourse is prevented from solidifying into naturalised cohesive and singular narratives.

In the 1790s, the art theorist and secretary of the Academie des Beaux Art, Antoine Chrystome Quatremère, commented on the new art museum: the Louvre. In his 1791 essay,

¹ Walter Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History” in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, Hannah Arendt, ed. trans. Harry Zohn, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World), 264.

“Considerations sur les arts du dessin,” he stated, “[c]an one better proclaim the uselessness of works of art than by announcing in the assemblage made of them the nullity of their purpose.”²

In presenting this quote, I am focussing on a concern that has emerged since the beginnings of the modern museum following the Ancien Regime, specifically, the questioning of the creation and display of autonomous art that functions within a sphere separate from the daily lives of citizens.

Thus, since the birth of the modern museum the institutional and cultural politics of the art world have prompted numerous artistic actions that aim to question, disrupt and/or break from normative practices.³ From the *Salon des Refuses* in 1863, to the *Salon des Independants* of 1884, to Marcel Duchamp’s RJ. Mutt affair at the exhibition of *Independent Artists* in 1917, early artistic interventions hinged upon critical perspectives of existing artistic and contemporaneous social histories. From the avant-garde artistic movements of the 1910s and 1920s such as Dada and Surrealism to the neo-dada actions of the Situationist Internationale and Guy Debord in the 1950s and 1960s: each represents artistic practices informed by a critical vein within modernism concerned with the insertion of art into a real life praxis. Motivated by these practices and informed by critical socio-political approaches to art, the closing decades of the twentieth century witnessed an emergence of critical counter-practices by a number of artists. Under the banner of ‘postmodernism’ - a highly contested and often misused term, a specific interest developed that scrutinised the intersection of public space and political interest by examining the role of public monuments. This thesis is an examination of one artist’s practice that interrogates these issues.

Over the past two decades, the work of Canadian artist and theorist Mark Lewis has been a sustained investigation of specific historical moments explored through a number of media, each

² Daniel J. Sherman, “Quatremere/Benjamin/Marx: Art Museums, Aura and Commodity Fetishism.” in *Museum Culture*, Daniel J. Sherman, et al, eds. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 128-129.

³ The modern museum is usually discussed within art history as commencing with the opening of the Louvre, though other proto-museum forms existed earlier such as the Medici’s collection. However, the idea of the modern museum beginning at the Louvre is due to the ideal of it being ‘for the people,’ and thus, at least theoretically it was for all classes.

in turn additionally exemplifying issues germane to art production and art history. It is through such a multivalent approach that Lewis has sought to highlight specific political and cultural meanings produced by regimes of representation and, in so doing, offers critical viewpoints from which ideological tensions, faults and perhaps, more simply stated – engaged reassessments are permitted to come forth.

The beginning of his artistic career in the early 1980s saw photography provide the formal structure through which his socio-political critique of representations in culture was articulated, after which, from 1990 – 1995, Lewis proposed numerous public art projects that questioned the role of public space with particular attention to the role of monuments, notably those of the former Soviet Union. However, only two were realised and constructed, namely, *What is to be Done?* (1990-91) and *Collection* (1993). Here, the issues surrounding a post-communist ‘new world order,’ - the re-evaluation of socialist ideals as well as the removal of images of those involved in said history - are examined in regards to the role of ideology within the cultural landscape of both the East and West. Lewis’ series of public art projects are as follows: *What is to be Done*, 1990-91; *Four proposals for Monumental Propaganda*, 1993, for the exhibition Monumental Propaganda held at ICI New York; *The Law of Respect*, 1992; *The International Museum of Public Art in the City of Toronto: An Archaeology of Commemoration*, 1993, proposed for the City of Toronto Harbourfront, and lastly, the work *Collection* created in 1993 and situated in Vancouver. In addition to these works, Lewis also created two unusual public art works exploring the role of smell as a social marker and as a mnemonic device: *Une Odeur de Luxe*, installed from October 1989 to February 1990 at Mirabel Airport north of Montréal, and *An Odour of Disorder*, installed in Cambridge, England, 1991 and Musée d’art Contemporain, Montréal, 1992.

The most recent phase of his career has focused on cinema as yet another history to be excavated, where its material form, once a marker of modernity’s technological progress has itself become a studied object that has reached an historic end. During the early 1990s, Lewis

incorporated film into his practice represented by the film *Disgraced Monuments* (1993), written and directed in collaboration with Laura Mulvey. Not unlike his counter-monument work, this film documented the fate of public monuments within the collapsing Soviet Union and displays some of the concerns found in his first solo film effort in 1995-96, entitled *Two Impossible Films*. Since 1995, Lewis has produced 12 film-based works, exhibited in solo and group shows in Europe and North America at such exhibition spaces as the Tate Modern and The National Gallery of Canada.

This thesis is an analysis of two works by Mark Lewis: the public art project *What is to be Done* of 1990-1 (Fig. 1), and his first cinematic effort, or “part-cinema” as Lewis defines his films works, *Two Impossible Films* of 1995 (Fig. 2). These works question the practice of public representations of political power by emphasising the ideological fissures, tensions and contradictions shared by socialist and capitalist political histories both past and present. Though utilising distinctly different forms, each is an enquiry into the relationship of real and unrealised histories of political and artistic pasts within the context of the climatic shift of the post-Berlin Wall era. The essential argument that will structure and link the discussion of these two works is my claim that both are emblematic of counter-monuments practices. This said, the following exigency requires attention for this assertion to be teased out. The work *What is to be Done?* consists of a tangible sculptural form placed within public sites and, in its semblance to Vladimir Lenin fulfils expectations regarding the monument form. In contrast, *Two Impossible Films* as a gallery based cinematic piece, furnishes little in the way of resemblance to the material form of the monument or counter-monument. As a photo-based medium made visible with a technological apparatus, an explicit connection to the monument form is, admittedly, not readily apparent. To assist in clarifying the discussion of these two works from this aforementioned perspective, I outline a series of thematic concerns that provide a shared conceptual horizon.

In Chapter 1, I introduce three thematic sections or moments by discussing the evolutionary shifts in the use of monuments as representational practices for political interests.

The first moment will provide the historical corpus detailing the salient aspects of what I term the ‘conventional monument’ as it operated under monarchical powers. Due to restrictions at hand, and in interest to the main thrust of the thesis – my analysis of contemporary response to these historical models by Lewis, only a select overview can be put forth. Here, I examine the role of site, image and text in monuments honouring Louis XIV to demonstrate how the spatio-temporal narrative of nation and ruler are synthesised into propaganda within public space. Crucial to this section, is the relational transaction of meaning occurring between the fixed site of a monument and the multiple sites created throughout France which functioning as propaganda presented the ideology of the government. This brief study, though particular, serves as the ‘pedestal’ for the subsequent topics within this thesis.

Expanding from this, the second moment of this chapter addresses the re-evaluation of the monument form within modernity. Specifically, the theoretical, artistic and socio-political role of monuments and public space within the Russian revolutionary period is highlighted through examining the formal and conceptual differences that mark the role of the monument within the revolutionary period as found in Vladimir Tatlin’s proposed *Monument to the Third International* (Fig. 3) and Nicolai Kolli’s *Red Wedge Splitting the White Plinth* (Fig. 4). This discussion serves to display the transitional stage of the monument from a mimetic figurative sculptural form in public space to a formally abstracted and dematerialised yet, nonetheless, allegorical monument form within virtual space created by cinema.

Thus, developing the above area of enquiry in the subsequent and final section, I propose the third moment in the history of the monument emerges with the advent of cinema in both Europe and North America as a parallel but dematerialised form of the conventional monument. In presenting the claim of cinema’s ability to function as an ‘immaterial monument,’ the role of cinema’s links with political and national propaganda interests provides the context to support my argument. In offering this outline, I claim cinema rivalled the conventional monument in its capacity to incorporate and write history within a virtually real time experience. Furthermore, the

cinema gave rise to a systematic network of dissemination that created a new shared cinematic ‘site’ of public experience that avoided the classical model of an interactive public sphere. Tying together these threefold ‘moments’ in the history of the monument is the question of the shifting notion of the ‘public’ and the strategies of political powers to interpret, adapt and disseminate its interests within the new socio-political terrain.

Having offered three historical moments within the history of the monument, I present an analysis of Lewis’ public art project *What is to be Done?* as an example of a counter-monument practice. However, to contextualize and situate Lewis’ work I first define the concept of counter-monument, followed by examples of works by Marcel Broodthaers, Michael Asher, Krzysztof Wodiczko and Jochen Gerz in which the critical re-evaluation of the idea of the monument is the conceptual meaning informing their work. In my reading of *What is to be Done?*, I have considered the writings of Walter Benjamin, particularly his archaeological reading of history, public space and the city as influential to Lewis’ practice. As well, I have examined Henri Lefebvre’s theory of public space to provide a socio-historic framework through which to discuss the work in tandem with Rosalyn Deutsche’s writings on public art and Miwon Kwon’s analyses of an expanded site-specificity in contemporary art.

Incorporating the above perspectives with those presented in Chapter 1, my study of *What is to be Done?* investigates the multiple narratives operating within the work as a commentary on the role of the monument form as a political, social and memorial signifier in culture. It is my position that Lewis explicitly situates the work within the history of the socio-political terrain of the former Soviet Bloc and that of the West, in particular, the socio-political situation following the demise of the Soviet Union. Supporting this perspective, I look at Derrida’s text *Specters of Marx* in opposition to Francis Fukayama’s *The End of History and the Last Man* as a framework to consider the multiple ‘historic moments’ through which Lewis reads the present as inextricably linked to the past.

Lewis' work *Two Impossible Films*, the subject of Chapter 3, expands upon his concerns regarding the monument form. I argue that the work situates – and indeed questions – the role of film as the monument of the twentieth century. Here, I again use the concept of a discursive site-specificity to locate the historic moments past and present referenced in the work. Keeping in mind Benjamin's critical recuperation of fragments of history, events and places, my readings of early cinema practice explicitly inform the discussion of *Das Kapital* and *The Story of Psychoanalysis*. In the interest of drawing out the similar armature behind *What is to be Done?* and *Two Impossible Films*; the question of the history of the revolutionary avant-garde practice of early twentieth century and the re-evaluation today of those ideals in contradistinction to late century capitalism are also be examined.

Through the aforementioned discursive 'sites', I circumscribe how each of Lewis' works reflects the critical theoretical stance found in social art history, or as Thomas Crow notes, the absorption into studio practice since the 1970s of established academic disciplines, notably those outside the sphere of "fine art" such as anthropology and literary studies, as contingent in the production of meaning for much of contemporary art practised today.⁴ In so doing, Lewis' counter-monument works demonstrate his sophisticated incorporation of interdisciplinary theoretical considerations as integral to the productive process of his art works and is emblematic of critical modernism and postmodernism in questioning the historic function of the monument form and its discrete deployment through what are ostensibly narrative sites.

⁴ See Thomas Crow, *Modern Art in the Common Culture*, (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1996), 151.

1. From the Conventional Monument to the Cinema as Monument: Three Moments.

In the present chapter, I provide the historical corpus or foundation of my thesis through examining three specific monuments in the history of the monument to enable the development of a relational and contextualized reading of my subsequent discussion of Lewis' works *What is to be Done?* and *Two Impossible Films*. First, I consider the role of the monument honouring Louis XIV in France to supply a concise definition of what I shall term the 'conventional monument.' It is my argument that such monuments are exemplary models in their ability to provide the narrative of political power through representational strategies within public space and, as such, are templates from which ensuing interpretations of public monuments may be referenced. Recognising that monuments are part of society's ideological structure and are consequently enmeshed within its values, central to my enquiry is its role as a material form of propaganda created through the relation of the site, the pedestal and inscription. In addressing each of these aspects, I examine their function in structuring *signification* between the viewer and the 'conventional monument.'

My second consideration of the monument focuses on its transformation within modernity, specifically, its role within the early years of the Russian revolution. Of concern to this section is the conceptual expansion of the conventional monument's tradition of realism and mimesis into contemporary discursive forms within public space that allegorically reflected the industrial, technological and political ideals of the revolution. With this symbiotic relationship to political and propagandist interests, the efficacy of these works is presented within the context of the ideological network that displayed both progressive and atavistic strains in its use of new production techniques to address a reconfigured mass public.

Combining the concerns of the first two moments in the history of the monument, the locus of my third moment proposes cinema as a dematerialised monument: with its ability to pervade

multiple spaces simultaneously and complicating the notion of site, its practice specifically adapted established strategies of representing narratives of power and ideology tailored to the new mass public. Here, I highlight the development of cinema in the early years of the twentieth century with a particular emphasis on its use in the United States and the Soviet Union to serve the political needs to write, display and create history. Though as I discuss further on, history has placed an emphasis on physical monuments that exhibit presence through size or monumentality, numerous forms regardless of size have held powerful symbolic meaning within societies.

Examples of early forms that can be viewed as proto-monuments embodying shared societal meanings are encountered in the small limestone sculptural images of the pregnant female body created in ancient Europe and the life-size cave paintings of animals at Lascaux, France.⁵ These works, though lacking monumentality in size, demonstrate the essential intention of monuments, specifically, the belief in the need to make visible an aspect of life deemed important and/or essential to a cultural group. However, the prominent model of the traditional monument explicitly honours rulers, heroes, religion and significant events, and as such, the pre-eminent motivating factor is the work's symbiotic relationship with political and propagandist interests. Since the Ancient Greek and Roman era, these two ideological interests have permitted the monument to be a strategic necessity to legitimate the rule of leaders, empires and nation states.⁶ With this in mind, I now turn to examine the first moment in the history of the monument under Louis XIV.

The Conventional Monument: Image, Site and Urban relations

In the Seventeenth and Eighteenth century, the emergence and solidification of absolutism

⁵ Such representations of pregnancy were seen as links to fertility goddesses commonly believed to be responsible for good harvests and providing offspring. While the images of animals at Lascaux are less clear in their meaning, they obviously display elements of nature that held importance to those who would view the images.

⁶ The term 'propaganda' originates from the Catholic Church when it established the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1622. See James A. Leith, *Space and Revolution: Projects for Monuments, Squares, and Public Buildings in France 1789-1799*, (Montréal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 4.

and rationalism in Europe profoundly marked the manner in which citizens interacted with their surrounding environment. The former unified citizens under the ideals of the monarchical powers exercised through a centralised state, while the latter demanded all beliefs and understanding of the world to be founded solely on experience and reason. Exercised primarily through dynastic monarchical structures, absolutism sought to construct singular and cohesive narratives visible to the monarch's subjects. Indeed, to efficiently educate the public, didactic strategies were employed to organise and demonstrate the legitimacy of those in power. As indicated by the Latin root of monument - 'monumentum', a term originating from the word *monere* meaning to 'remind', implicit in the idea of the monument is the recognition of the *ars memoria* – the art of memory.

Acknowledging that the pre-eminent motivation of the conventional monument is its symbiotic relationship with political and propagandist interests, in the seventeenth century and onward, this was achieved by presenting the simulacrum of a state's or nation's leader or ruler within public space. Remarking on the role of monuments and sculpture, Jacques De Caso writes they were to be "understood as a sign of beliefs, ambitions, and accomplishments of men but the sculpted image was also considered to be a manifestation of the grandeur of nations as well as an indicator of their errors and defects."⁷ Thus, intrinsic to the programme of the conventional monument is its function as a material form of propaganda that structures the ideology of the state and nation through the narrative of the ruler within public space.

This function is exemplified by monuments honouring Louis XIV. Contingent to the conventional monument's efficacy is its use of mimesis to make visible the body of the king. This need was of importance for Louis XIV, who had retreated from the economic and political centre of Paris to that of the insular opulence of Versailles. Emphasising the importance of realist sculptural form in Martin Desjardins's monument of Louis XIV, François Lemée writes:

⁷ Jacques De Caso, *David d'Angers: Sculptural Communication in the Age of Romanticism*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 16.

A statue is ... the representation of a living body ... Simulacra and statues visualise what they represent in their entirety and in the round, and thereby imitate nature much better than signs, which one can only see figures in low relief, ... much reduced from the scale of life.⁸

Thus, in its attempt to make ‘visible’ the absent or dead monarch, the conventional monument contains both indexical and allegorical modes of representation – the real and the ideal through the intersection of these relations, as Louis Marin highlights, meaning is created. Clearly, the role of mimesis in the conventional monument is, as exemplified by monuments of Louis XIV, what Marin terms absolutist self-fashioning. He writes:

On the one hand, to represent is to make the absent or the dead imaginarily present again. On the other hand, it is to construct an identity, which is legitimate and authorised by the ostentatious exhibition of qualifications and justifications. It is at the crossing and at the exchange of these various significations’ ... that the representation of state power is constituted as an absolute monarch.⁹

In combination with the elaborate festivals marking his rule as the ‘Roi Soleil,’ depictions of the monarch were executed through two types of monument works – the equestrian and pedestrian monument. François Girardon used the equestrian monument, clearly influenced by Roman sculptural representations of Marcus Aurelius on horseback, in his portrayal of Louis XIV at Place Louis-le-Grand (Place Vendôme) in Paris (Fig. 5). Standing 5.8 meters on a pedestal of 9.7 meters and costing 120 000 livres without the pedestal, like other equestrian monuments, its overwhelming presence “reinforced the monument’s significance as a statement of the monarchy’s enduring power”¹⁰ and “impressed the viewer by their image of confident authority, their colossal scale, and their obvious expense.”¹¹ Similarly inspired by Roman cuirass statues, the second type known as the pedestrian monument presented Louis XIV in a manner of authority. Desjardins’s pedestrian statue unveiled in 1686 at Place des Victoires, explicitly

⁸ François Lemée, *Traité des statues*, (Paris 1688), ch. VII. “des pedestaux”, p. 426, quoted in Andrew McClellan, “The Life and Death of a Royal Monument: Bouchardon’s Louis XV” *Oxford Art Journal* 23, no. 2 (Spring 2000), 22.

⁹ Louis Marin cited in McClellan, 18.

¹⁰ Richard Cleary, *The Place Royale and Urban Design in the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999), 62.

¹¹ Cleary, 61.

referenced attributes of Hercules with the king standing in his coronation robes amidst a pile of weapons, a club and a lions skin (Fig. 6). On the lower pedestal plinth, circular bas-reliefs depicted the Destruction of Heresy and the Abolition of Duelling, while rectangular bas-reliefs presented military actions such as the Peace of Nijmegen, the Capture of Besançon, the Crossing of the Rhine and the Dominance of France over Spain accompanied by four captives at each corner shackled by a gilded chain.¹² The equestrian and pedestrian monument held iconic meaning particular to each mode of representation as argued by Jacques-François Blondel's *Cours d'architecture* of 1770 in which he states the pedestrian statue should be used when the "pacific virtues of the Prince are praised" while the equestrian type should be used for "celebrating the valour of heroes."¹³ Clearly, the conventional monument as represented by Girardon's and Desjardins's references classical values of the ancients in its depiction of Louis XIV and thus permitted the present actions and events of the monarch to cast within a broad worldview of history. As McClennan details, "The royal monument owed its power in good part to the repetition of form; to search for stylistic innovation is to overlook the symbolic essence and dynastic force."¹⁴

Of critical importance for the process of legitimising state power by making the 'absent king' present was the distribution of the monarchy's narrative by the strategic placement of monuments honouring Louis XIV throughout the nation. In Paris and other cities in France such as Dijon, Montpellier and Lyon, public squares proliferated throughout the cities consecrating the urban space as host for representations of the monarch. For example, between 1685 and 1688 twenty projects were proposed for public monuments to Louis XIV, of which twelve were equestrian statues such as the one in Place Louis-le-Grand (now Place Vendôme). While his successor Louis XV was also well represented throughout Paris by monuments in 'place royale'

¹² Cleary, 71.

¹³ Jacques-François Blondel cited in Cleary, 65.

¹⁴ McClennan, 7.

(now Place des Vosges), Place Louis-le-Grand and arguably the most known square – Place Louis XV, now called Place de la Concorde. As such, the relationship of the monument and the “place royale” must be considered as coextensive with the development of the city as an idea, a ‘place’ of significance – a site of political and economic networks. Here, the role of architecture and planning clearly expressed an ideological purposefulness within which monuments participated. As Malcolm Miles points out:

The form of a city came to represent a concept of order, as it were, illustrated by the city; because this is a process of plan and execution, it is possible to write of a conceptual city of which the spaces, streets and buildings of the material city are the application.¹⁵

Similarly, Norberg-Schulz in his description of the Baroque City writes:

[...] the single building loses its plastic individuality and becomes part of a superior system In general, we may say that the Baroque city converges on (or radiates from) monumental buildings which represent the basic values of the system. ‘The monument constitutes a focal point of a city and is generally placed in the centre of a vast area, planned so as to enhance the monument’s aesthetic values’¹⁶

As a site of intense transactional processes, the location of the monument within city space reiterated the relational experience of urban centres as that of heightened meaning and power.

However, it is important to note that such sites were not conceived as ‘public’ in classical sense of the *agora*, nor was it the modern ideal of space ‘that belongs to the people’ since the population under the monarchy was still very much a collection of subjects. Placed within multiple place royales throughout the nation, monuments such as Girardon’s honouring Louis XIV were part of a larger systematically organised network that expressed its ideology through these highly visible sites. This permitted the citizen to physically experience and understand the monarch as powerful and glorious, but more importantly, the monument and ‘place royale’ announced a definitive hierarchical difference between ruler and subjects. As a spatial manifestation of a larger but wholly integrated network of representations, the ‘place royale’ was

¹⁵ Malcolm Miles, *Art, Space and the City: Public Art and Urban Features* (London, New York: Routledge, 1997), 65.

¹⁶ Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Baroque Architecture* (New York: Abrams, 1971), 18.

a subject of theoretical and practical concerns. During the seventeenth and eighteenth century, architectural theory noted its dualistic function; as McClellan notes, a “‘*Place Royale*’ had to be both magnificent and useful displaying the king’s statue to good advantage in an open, accessible space that facilitated the flow of traffic through and around it.”¹⁷ Describing the ideological import of the site, Albert Boime states “‘place royales’ like royal entries, royal weddings, and other state events were self-congratulatory exhibitions of the crown’s magnificence and popularity.”¹⁸ Though none of the ‘place royales’ survived the French Revolution, the importance of these sites in relation to the monument as focal points for the numerous royal festivals and royal processions of Louis XIV provided a symbolic history gathered up in subsequent royal monuments.¹⁹ The highly articulated sites of later royal monuments of the Ancien Regime can be understood as *intertextual*²⁰ forms as they referenced previous modes of ritual that visualised the monarch in public space in that they “emerged as important repositories of royal memory, carrying within them the signs of dynasty and the symbolic order of bygone practices.”²¹ Consequently, the enhanced value of the ‘place royale’, featuring monuments honouring Louis XIV and subsequent monarchs functioned as a place of ritual. As Catherine Bell writes in *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, “Ritualization both implies and demonstrates a relatively unified corporate body, often leading participants to assume that there is more consensus than there actually is.”²² Indeed, the 1699 inauguration of Girardon’s statue of Louis XIV at Place Vendome displayed the importance of the symbiotic link of ritual and the monument. Enacted in two stages, the first were witnessed in the elaborate events surrounding the unveiling of the pedestal upon its completion, to be followed by a later ceremony celebrating the completion of the entire

¹⁷ Andrew McClellan, 11.

¹⁸ Cleary, *The ‘place royale’ and Urban Design in the Ancien Regime*, 83.

¹⁹ Cleary, 56.

²⁰ Mikhail Bakhtin defines intertextuality as elements or signs that a person finds available in earlier forms of expression in a culture and is re-employed. See Mieke Bal, Norm Bryson, *Art Bulletin*, V. June, 1991. 206-207.

²¹ McClellan, 14.

²² Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992), 210.

monument. Half a century later, the unveiling of Bouchardon's monument to Louis XV in June 1763 replicated these two ceremonial events.²³ These practices surrounding the symbolic site of the 'place royale' reflect Eric Hobsbawm's analysis of how past traditions may be re-deployed in new forms to serve present needs.²⁴ Thus, such actions exemplify the crucial component of the conventional monument's function in presenting narratives of political and cultural expression.

Hayden White writes:

historical narratives are not only models of past events and processes, but also metaphorical statements which suggest a relation of similitude between such events and processes and the story types that we conventionally use to endow the events of our lives with culturally sanctioned meanings.²⁵

The effectiveness of monuments honouring Louis XIV created a landscape metaphorically inhabited by the ruler interweaving past memory with the present to impart upon the viewer the narrative of the monarch's continual power and glory. It is precisely these strategic factors which are present in what I define as the conventional monument and, in addition, reflect the Viennese art historian Alois Riegl's concept of the 'intentional monument' as explicated in his 1903 essay "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin."²⁶ In this study, Riegl differentiates between intentional monuments and unintentional monuments, in that the first, "have no other purpose than to memorialise a person or event," while the second emerge as monuments only through time, or what he terms 'historical age value' after their original meaning and usefulness have passed as in the concept of the ruin.²⁷ However, the former concept is certainly operative in conventional monuments such as Girardon's or Desjardins's, the latter reading determined by cultural and sociological interests particular to a given period is, I would argue, that co-existent within

²³ McClellan, 15.

²⁴ Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Tradition" in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. *Inventing Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 5-8.

²⁵ Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, (Baltimore, London: John Hopkins UP.), 88.

²⁶ See Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin," in *Oppositions* 25. ed. and trans. Kurt W. Forster (Fall 1982), 22 - 58

any given monument. As Riegl observed, a work's 'age-value' comes to the fore because the "mortality of culture is of value to culture itself"²⁸ – a key notion to which I return in my discussion of Mark Lewis' work.

Supporting the conventional monument's narrative of the ruler's power, the role of the pedestal and of textual inscriptions warrants a brief examination. For example, on the monument honouring Louis XIV at Place Louis-le-Grand, the programme of inscriptions on bronze work attached to marble pedestals provided explications that justified the heroic status of the sculpture and linked the king's presence to religion and nation. The inscriptions detailed his life, deeds, and military heroics, emphasising his rule as *le roi conquérant* and "heralded his domination of Europe and his aggressive efforts to eradicate heresy and to unify France under one religion."²⁹ However, the textual narratives on conventional monuments honouring the monarchs after Louis XIV shifted in their tone as displayed on Jean-Baptiste Pigalle's statue portraying Louis XV in Reims unveiled in August 1755. No longer highlighting military prowess, the inscriptions defined the king's glory "in terms of peace and good government"³⁰ stating:

A Louis XV
Le Meilleur Des Rois Qui
Par La Douceur De Son Gouvernement
Fait Le Bonheur Ses Peuples

Clearly, the use of inscriptions functioned as propaganda announcing the qualities of the king, textually supplementing the visual depiction of a ruler. Furthermore, the role of inscriptions – particularly those in Latin – reflected the belief "that a particular script-language offered privileged access to ontological truth, precisely because it was an inseparable part of that truth. It was this idea that called into being the great transcontinental solidarities of Christendom, the

²⁷ See Kurt Forster, "Monument/Memory and the Mortality of Architecture" in *Oppositions: Monument/Memory* # 25, (New York: Rizzoli, Fall 1982), 2-19.

²⁸ Ibid., 8.

²⁹ Cleary, 69 - 70. Exemplifying the bureaucratic nature of the regulatory system for monument design, the selection of inscriptions or textual elements on pedestals was governed by the Academie Royale des Inscriptions.

³⁰ Cleary, 3.

Islamic Ummah, and the rest.”³¹ As such, the use of text on monuments may be understood as the intersection of ritual and language as a rhetorical communicative practice. An example of such ritual language is reflected in Louis XIV inscription, “l’État c’est moi” that metaphorically announces the sculptural image, nation and his corporeality as the same. W. T. Mitchell writes:

Theories of rhetoric routinely appeal to the model of word/image conjunctions to define the relation between argument and evidence, precept and example, *verbum* (word) and *res* (thing, substance). Effective rhetoric is characteristically defined as a two-pronged strategy of verbal/persuasion, showing while it tells, illustrating its claims with powerful examples, making the listener *see* and not merely *hear* the orator’s point.³²

Though lacking the auditory aspect, inscriptions on the bas-reliefs or pedestals of the conventional monument function as rhetorical devices within the symbolic world of language. In other words, the textual inscription as a translation of the spoken word is a signifier referencing the voice of the sculptural form that stands in for the king. In sum, the relation of text to the traditional monument form is at once ambivalent and instructive. On one hand, by virtue of its placement on a pedestal, structurally located at the bottom of an explicitly vertically hierarchical form, inscriptions are a supplement, as well as a representation of what is not there – in this case - the voice of the king. Thus, the intersection of text and image permits the viewer to place the image within a synchronic history provided by dates, facts and names that are situated within a larger narrative.

Assisting the sculptural image and text conveying the narrative of the conventional monument, the pedestal delineated an architectonic separation between ruler and subject thus affirming the monarch’s noble comportment and importance. As Lemée observes:

[The] elevation allows the statues of great men to be seen above other men. It is reasonable that this honour is accorded them, since they have surpassed other men by their courage, and the subtlety of their spirit; by contrast, they shame evildoers, for their

³¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1991), 36.

³² W.J.T. Mitchell, “Word and Image” in Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff, eds. *Critical Terms for Art History* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 50.

vices are the more easily made visible to others, and elicit constant curses.³³

Furthermore, he suggests the pedestal is itself an allegorical component with a biblical connection:

[the pedestal] sometimes takes on the role of foundation, bottom, weight, the progress and limit of something. It is in this sense that Scripture uses the terms base and foundation of the Earth and Heaven to signify the force which created them.”³⁴

Etienne Maurice Falconet’s equestrian statue *Peter the Great* situated in St. Petersburg, “a spectacular demonstration of absolutist rule in which the ruler’s effigy stood at the centre of the site as the symbolic embodiment of the sovereign’s power over the realm”³⁵ clearly models the relationship of monument and site on the French model of the *place royale*. However, Falconet’s pedestal is an important departure from the tradition of pedestal design. Under his equestrian sculpture of Peter the Great mounted on a rearing horse, the pedestal was an immense granite rock transport from near the Gulf of Finland to St. Petersburg. By placing the king on this natural piece of the landscape, Falconet literally connects the monarch to the land made of “the rock-pedestal carved from the Russian earth”³⁶ As Brian Grosskurth notes, “the entire iconography is designed to stress the tsar’s mastery over the recalcitrant forces of both nature and society.”³⁷ Unlike traditional pedestals and plinths, the rock plinth is placed into an active visual and formal dialogue with the dramatically poised horse and King and, as such, the highly symbolic site indexically represents the state’s interest in territory.

In conclusion, my above discussion of monuments honouring Louis XIV has shown that the conventional monument operates through the uniting of sculptural image, text, pedestal and site within a framework of propaganda to legitimate the narrative of the ruler or monarch’s power

³³ F. Lemée quoted in Etienne Jollet, “Between Allegory and Topography: The Project for a Statue to Louis XVI in Brest (1785-1786) and the Question of the Pedestal in Public Statuary in Eighteenth Century France,” *Oxford Art Journal* 23, no. 2 (Spring 2000), 56. Originally in F. Lemée, *Traité des statues*, (Paris 1688), ch. VII. “des pedestaux”, p. 153.

³⁴ F. Lemée, *Traité des statues*, 155, quoted in Jollet, 56.

³⁵ Brian Grosskurth, “Shifting Monuments: Falconet’s Peter the Great between Diderot and Eisenstein,” *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 23, no. 2, (Spring 2000), 34-35.

³⁶ Jollet, 62.

³⁷ Grosskurth, 36.

within public space. As such, the narrative of the ruler deployed through the conventional monument is a ‘mechanism of power’ to use Foucault’s term.³⁸ As a discursive operation, it functions through the realm of public space to create viewers or ‘readers’ of the symbolic site. Positioning the conventional monument as a text, we can understand the narrative process as follows:

The production of meaning is contingent on a relation between a subject and an object, which the subject achieves by a conscious or intentional entertainment of relations with an object.³⁹

Similarly, for Ross Chambers the operation of narrative form;

mediates exchanges that produce historical change [:] it is transactional, too, in that this functioning is itself dependent on an initial contract between the participants in the exchange.⁴⁰

Thus, we can surmise that narrative is contingent upon the presence of a subject in the world through whom an event, story or belief becomes part of what Paul Ricoeur defines as *calendar time* and *lived time*.⁴¹ In his three volume work *Time and Narrative*, Ricoeur places narrative as a process that exists within a synchronous synergy of multiple forms of time and functions as the syntax of history and in turn is a component in the making of “history.” Specifically, Ricoeur posits the time of the calendar as a bridge constructed by *historical practice* between *lived time* and *universal time* and, as such, may participate in one or the other of them. However, of critical import is the function of calendar time which, Ricoeur posits, creates or constitutes a third form of time - that of mythic time.⁴² *Mythic time* or “great time” as Ricoeur additionally defines it, orders the time of societies and human beings that live in society in relation to cosmic time. Yet

³⁸ Michel Foucault, “Two Lectures” in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interview and other writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon et al. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 102

³⁹ Renate Holub, *Antonio Gramsci: Beyond Marxism and Post-Modernity*, (London, New York: Routledge, 1992), 21.

⁴⁰ Ross Chambers, *Story and Situation: Narrative Seduction and the Power of Fiction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 66.

⁴¹ Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative: Volume 3*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer, (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 164. Originally published in french as *Temps et Récit*, vol. 3 (Paris: Editions Seuil, 1985), 105.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 105.

in order to make mythic time visible or present within the world, it is necessary for mythic representations to be enacted, which occur through the “mediation of ritual.”⁴³ In Ricoeur’s view, ritual expresses a time whose rhythms are broader than those of ordinary (lived) time and action and “sets ordinary time and each brief life within a broader time.”⁴⁴ As we can see, Ricoeur’s multiple time lines of history to an extent are reminiscent of Walter Benjamin’s spatial reading of history and culture found in his concepts of “messianic time,” “homogeneous, empty time” and “empirical time.” For Benjamin, messianic time is the present that incorporates the entire history of humankind and, like Ricoeur’s cosmic time, coincides with the stature that the history of humanity has in the universe.⁴⁵ In this sense, mythic time or messianic time provides the suitable temporal dimension through which ideology is framed and materialised with the deployment of monuments and rituals. In his discussion of ideology, W. J. T. Mitchell situates the relational articulation of ideology and image pertinent to this discussion. He states:

The concept of ideology is grounded as the word suggests, in the notion of mental entities or “ideas” that provide the materials of thought. Insofar as these ideas are understood as image – as pictorial, graphic signs imprinted or projected on the medium of consciousness – then ideology, the science of ideas, is really an iconology, a theory of imagery.⁴⁶

Ricoeur’s perspective on narrative provides a temporal framework through which we can situate the conventional monument such as those honouring Louis XIV as the functioning of iconology through visual imagery. Particularly, in respect to the specific references announced by the sculpture such as the coronation, battles and victories, the monument participates as a historical practice that directly references calendar time and, in doing so, situates the narrative of the monarch within ‘mythic time.’ Furthermore, the accompanying ritualistic role of festivals and events surrounding the monument not only provide specific mnemonic experiences placing the

⁴³ Ibid., 105.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 105.

⁴⁵ Walter Benjamin, “Thesis on the Philosophy of History” in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 263.

⁴⁶ W.J.T. Mitchell, *Iconology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Text, 1994), 164.

spectators and participants into a continuum of the narrative time of the ruler, they continually transform the work and site connecting the past to the present lived time and, by extension, to that of 'mythic' great time. The resultant conflation of ideology and imagery permits the role of myth to legitimate the conventional monument and its symbiotic link to narrative. As Hayden White writes:

[Myth] is the result of the application of narrative strategies by which basic story units or clusters of events are arranged so as to give to some purely human structure or process the aspect of cosmic (or natural) necessity, adequacy, or inevitability [...] History, is never only a history of, it is always also a history for. And it is not only history for in the sense of being written with some ideological aim in view, but also history in the sense for a specific social group or public.⁴⁷

This brief examination of the intersection of ideology, propaganda and political narrative within conventional monuments under Louis XIV has served to provide the conceptual template from which we can consider the monument's evolution to be discussed below.

Reconsiderations of the Conventional Monument in Modernity

Having delineated the elements that structure the production and reception of a ruler's or nation's power through the conventional monument, I now turn to an analysis of a seminal moment within modernity, specifically, the role of the monument within revolutionary Russia and the reconsideration of its conceptual and physical form therein. With the successful, albeit violent overthrow of the Tsarist regime in October 1917, the Soviet Union embarked upon an ideologically driven integration of art into political and social formations within the new Soviet Republic. In his discussion of the October Revolution, John Bowlt offers a somewhat simplified description of activities in the new era:

[The Revolution] affected Russian art immediately in two ways: on one hand, it undermined or destroyed all cultural groupings; on the other, it gave impetus to the leftist current that, in certain governmental circles, were accepted as both the herald and the mirror of the social metamorphosis."⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, 104.

⁴⁸ John E. Bowlt, "Introduction" in *Russian Art of the Avant Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988), xxxiii.

Similarly, in Matthew Cullerne Brown and Brandon Taylor's discussion of the complex and contradictory directions within the Soviet system, the essential distinguishing feature of Soviet culture was the dependant relationship between artists and the state.⁴⁹ However, in the first years after the revolution, the Soviet Union's efforts to break from its past and forge a new political and artistic synthesis required it to contend with a plurality of artistic ideals and histories. As Victor Burgin notes, in the inter-war years American and European artistic practice differed in that the European avant-garde visual practice "became divided between that in which the notion of elite culture remained implicit, and that in which it was explicitly rejected abandoning the modes of artistic production historically most closely associated with it."⁵⁰ This developmental stage of the new cultural reality was noted in Anatoli Lunacharsky and Yuvenal Slavinsky's *Thesis of the Art Section of Narkompros and the Central Committee of the Union of Art Workers Concerning Basic Policy in the Field of Art* published November 30, 1920. In it they argue for the proletariat's right to "re-examine the world of art it has inherited" and for the leaders' role in "the preservation and utilisation of genuine artistic values acquired from the old culture is an indisputable task of the Soviet government" so as to remove the negative "admixtures of bourgeois degeneration, corruption, cheap pornography, intellectual boredom."⁵¹ However, as witnessed in other revolutions, notably that of 1789, the revolutionary leaders had to address the tension between new artistic visions that sought to embody the revolution and the heritage of the nation's past efforts. For example, Communist futurism (Komfut) and Proletkult (the proletarian culture organisation which was allied with Constructivist groups such as *Lef* spearheaded by Alexander

⁴⁹ Matthew Cullerne Brown and Brandon Taylor, "Introduction" in Matthew Cullerne Brown, Brandon Taylor, eds. *Art of the Soviets: Painting, sculpture and architecture in a one-state, 1917-1992* (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1993), 3-4.

⁵⁰ Victor Burgin, *The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity* (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press International, 1986), 5.

⁵¹ Anatoli Lunacharsky (1875 – 1933) was People's Commissar for Enlightenment from 1917-1929. Yuvenal Slavinsky (1887-1936) was president of Rabis – Union of Art Workers and later in 1929 founded the All-Russian Co-operative of Artists. See Anatoli Lunacharsky and Yuvenal Slavinsky, "Thesis of the Art Section of Narkompros and the Central Committee of the Union of Art Workers Concerning Basic Policy in the Field of Art" in John Bowl, ed. *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism*, 184-185.

Rodchenko, Vavara Stepanova, and Alexi Gan), each found their activities subject to differing accommodation under the new Bolshevik government.

It is within this climate of politicised art, culture and daily life that the public space of Soviet culture was addressed as the pre-eminent site of furthering political propaganda. This can be understood primarily as a need of the newly formed government, that at the time was mainly in control of Moscow and Leningrad (formerly St. Petersburg). Therefore, in order to secure its future, it had to disseminate the principles of the revolution across the vast territory of Russia for a largely illiterate population. As Bowlt observes, between 1917 and 1920 very little “pure art” was created due to the governments “orientation of artistic energies toward the so-called mass activities, involving street decoration, designs for mass dramatisations, and agit-transport, to the economic uncertainty of the country.”⁵² Moreover, though not surprising, those involved in the revolutionary period displayed an interest in the French Revolutionary festivals and publications such as the Russian translation in 1918 of J. Teirsot’s *Les Fêtes et les chants de la Révolution française*.⁵³ Furthermore, considering Russia’s historic monarchist ties to France, the post 1789 Revolutionary use of monuments, painting and festivals in public space to further establish the legitimacy of the new order into the daily lives of French citizens is likely to have been fairly widely known in Russia and, no doubt, was known to Lenin himself. Such goals were most evident in Lenin’s ‘Plan for Monumental Propaganda’, which sought to create an accessible visual culture that imparted educational and inspirational values to reinforce, structure and further the narrative of the socialist cause in the minds of citizens. Christina Lodder notes that the Plan “advocated and embodied a synthesis of the artist of painting, architecture, sculpture and music on the streets of the city and could be interpreted as a first step towards that fusion of art and life which Marx had envisaged in *The German Ideology*.”⁵⁴

⁵² Ibid., xxxvi.

⁵³ Lodder, “Lenin’s Plan for Monumental Propaganda.” in *Art of the Soviets: Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in a One-Party State, 1917-1992*, n. 29. 31.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 22

The ‘Plan for Monumental Propaganda’ was inaugurated by a decree presented to the SovNarKom on April 9, and signed by Lenin on April 13, 1918. On April 14, both Pravda and Izvestiya printed the Plan under the title, ‘The Removal of Monuments Erected in Honour of the Tsars and their Servants and the Production of Projects for Monuments to the Russian Socialist Revolution.’ However, it was commonly known by its abbreviated title ‘Concerning the Monuments of the Republic.’ The plan, as Christina Lodder summarises, consisted of two parts – a call to remove and destroy Tsarist monuments and the replacement of them with monuments to those who were involved in revolutionary and social activity in all fields.⁵⁵ Yet out of necessity, “some monuments were not destroyed but adapted such as the Imperial Obelisk in Petrograd, which was transformed into a revolutionary monument in 1918 by the addition of revolutionary names engraved on it.”⁵⁶ Over the next year, Lunacharsky, as head of *Narkompros* and in concert with Lenin, implemented the Plan placing emphasis on temporary monuments, celebrations and events. Reflecting Lenin’s and Lunacharsky’s concern with the immediate possibility and need of signifying the new revolutionary state to the population, an important aspect of the plan was the demand that monuments should be constructed from non-bourgeois materials such as plaster and wood instead of bronze.⁵⁷ Such monuments afforded mobility that in conjunction with the orchestrated celebrations and festivals enabled rapid representation of the revolutionary spirit, which executed Lunacharsky’s demand that monuments set up in “suitable corners of the capital [sic] to serve the aims of extensive propaganda, rather than the aim of immortalisation.”⁵⁸

Ideologically speaking, the revolutionary plans for public propaganda constructed sites in which to display a break from the tyranny of the Tsarist regime and, more critically, these were sites to stage the “rebellion against capital ... the most comprehensive attempt to demolish the

⁵⁵ Lodder, 20.

⁵⁶ Lodder, 23.

⁵⁷ The use of plaster effigies for monuments also was used in festivals for Louis XIV.

⁵⁸ Lunarcharski quoted in Lodder 21. Originally in A. Lunarcharski, “Lenin o monumentalnaya propagande”, *Literaturnaya gazeta.*, 29 January, 1933. 4-5,

commodity form of labour and space.”⁵⁹ In this period of revolutionary activity, a number of proposed and constructed monument works were produced honouring those who inspired the political and social change such as monuments to LaSalle, Garibaldi, Marx, Blanqui and Byron to name a few. Works such as Alexander Matveev’s plaster *Monument of Karl Marx* and Sergei Knenhov’s *To those who fell fighting for the cause of peace and brotherhood of Nations*, both produced in 1918, were executed in temporary non-bourgeois materials as called for by Lenin’s thesis. In terms of stylistic tendencies, there was both traditional works using monumental portraiture, while other sculptures influenced by Cubism and Futurism incorporated strong diagonals, or geometrical and planar approaches as in Matveev’s *Marx*. Korolev’s statue of Bakunin erected in Moscow in 1919 displayed a figural reduction to cubist geometrical angular volumes that was viewed as too extreme and was immediately destroyed by the public.⁶⁰

However, two radical reconsiderations of the monument are found in Vladimir Tatlin’s proposed *Monument to the Third International* (Fig. 3) and Nicolai Kolli’s *Red Wedge Splitting the White Plinth* (Fig. 4). Most striking is their departure from the conventional monument’s aesthetic of figurative mimeticism. Both works offered a metaphorical material abstraction articulating the conceptual motivations and socio-political ideals of the revolution. With its depiction of the red wedge smashing the plinth “representing the Red Army cutting into a battered white mass symbolic of the White Army troops”⁶¹ loyal to Tsarist monarchy, Kolli’s work contained within its form a visual allegory that is iconoclastic to the very structure of the conventional monument – the supporting role and permanence of its plinth. Tatlin’s proposed work, unveiled in 1920 as wooden model, displays the Soviet avant-garde’s interest in the synthesis of socio-political progress with that of a culture of everyday materials and technological forms. The infamous spiralling exterior structural form recalling pyramidal ziggurats or depictions of the Tower of

⁵⁹ Jonathan Charley, “Notes for a Manifesto” in *Architecture and Revolution: Contemporary perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Neil Leach, (New York, London, 1999), 57.

⁶⁰ Lodder, 25.

⁶¹ Lodder, 25.

Babylon, held iconic meaning recognisable to the public, notably in Rodin's unbuilt *Tower to Labour*, published in 1907 that exhibits a spiral and diagonal design to its massing. Furthermore, it demonstrated a practical use of Constructivist design, "helping to focus both pre-Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary artistic experience around utilitarian objectives" though Realism was eventually adopted by the revolution to serve as mass propaganda.⁶²

Tatlin's tower was to house three vertically stacked glass enclosed forms within the outer architectural skeleton, of which, each was to turn upon its own axis at designated speeds that were metaphors for the revolution itself. The lower glass cube, intended for legislative purposes, would turn at one revolution per year while the second cube in the shape of a pyramid, turned one revolution each month. The topmost glass structure in the form of a cylinder, rotated at one revolution per day. Intended as a structure in which to house governmental bodies, newspapers, telegraph, radio, and film studios, Tatlin's ambitious design reflected the merging of technology and everyday life proposed by Marx which Nikolai Punin described as an "organic synthesis of the principles of architecture, sculpture," producing a "new type of monumental structure, uniting in itself a purely creative form and a new type of utilitarian form."⁶³ In her discussion of Tatlin's tower, Rosalind Krauss remarks it "demonstrates a concern with the experience of real time ... the tower is about the processes of a historical development rather than the transcendence of it. For Tatlin, technology is placed visibly at the service of a revolutionary ideology through which history might be shaped."⁶⁴ The incorporation of industrial technology to display history as marked by time recalls Demoulin's suggestion that the Column of Liberty in Montpellier "should be designed as a giant sundial so that the column would cast a shadow would fall on a line

⁶² Lodder, 29.

⁶³ Nikolai Punin, "The Monument to the Third International." trans. Christina Lodder, Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, eds. *Art in Theory: 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Cambridge, Mass, Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1992), 311.

⁶⁴ Rosalind Krauss, *Passages in Modern Sculpture* (Cambridge, Mass., London: The MIT Press, 1981), 62.

marked 14, July each year when the anniversary came around.”⁶⁵ Both Demoulin’s proposal and Tatlin’s monument demonstrate the visualisation of narrative through the intersection of an axial moment (the storming of the Bastille and the Revolution) as memory deployed within calendar time measured by the various movements of the work, offering a sense of mythic or great time as in Ricoeur’s definition. Tatlin’s proposed work displays a mechanisation of ritual detailed into specific architectonic elements of meaning abstracted into symbolic allegorical structures. Of particular interest to the direction of this thesis was Tatlin’s intention to place a film screen upon which images were to be projected such that the surrounding public might be able to be both participants and spectators of the revolutionary age. The goals of Tatlin’s work are evidently in keeping with the ideals of Lunarcharsky and Lenin. Punin writes:

A social revolution by itself does not change artistic forms, but it does provide a basis for their gradual transformation. The idea of monumental propaganda has not changed sculpture or sculptors, but it has struck at the very principle of plastic appearance which prevails in the bourgeois world.⁶⁶

Within the history of art, Tatlin’s and Kolli’s works are viewed as revolutionary breaks; however, their intention to mark, memorialise and publicly represent the narrative of the Soviet revolutionary spirit explicitly re-enacts prior political uses of public space in history. This said, from the viewpoint of present day global information infrastructures, the foregrounding of contemporary engineering and media possibilities found in Tatlin’s monument, I would argue, is an ur-form of a multimedia site with its emphasis on communication technologies. In fact, as part of the ideological network, or what Lodder terms “the Bolsheviks’ multi-media propaganda machine,”⁶⁷ it represents a *gesamtkunstwerk* of political ideals through aesthetic and expressive features – a model taken up a decade later by the National Socialist Nazi party in Germany.

⁶⁵ James A. Leith, 60.

⁶⁶ Nikolai Punin, “The Monument to the Third International,” in *Art in Theory: 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, eds. (Cambridge, Mass., Oxford, U.K.: Basil, Blackwell Inc.), 312.

⁶⁷ Lodder, 26.

In his book *Mapping World Communication: War, Progress, Culture*, Armand Mattelart examines the development of technologies of communication. Starting from the early postal system under Henri IV, through the pre-electric telegraph emerging from the Revolution of 1789; the press revolution of the 1800s; the radio and telephone era followed by the film era, Mattelart defines these successive developments as the mastery of space. He determines these technological apparatuses, were typically first employed by governmental, notably military interests soon after their invention, to be followed by incorporation into cultural uses to address the new mass public. For example, following Guglielmo Marconi's invention of the wireless telegraph, Mattelart writes, "the British Admiralty was the first to grasp the strategic implications of radio communication."⁶⁸ As he notes, the communication networks permitted by new technologies "were among the first ways of materialising – and also idealising notions of progress, civilization, the universal and universalism."⁶⁹ At the time of the Russian revolution, in comparison to European countries, Great Britain and America, the Soviet Union was technologically less advanced and lacked a viable middle class mass public. However, it had ample understanding of the benefits of employing the new forms of information technologies as holding representational possibilities for the new government.⁷⁰ Tatlin's monument, then, can be understood as the transitional monument between the previous site-specific sculptural conventional monument and the new immaterial monument created by the cinematic moving image.

Technology and Ideology: Cinema as monument

With this history in mind, I will put forth my argument that, though resolutely technological in form, early cinema introduced and provided a parallel mode of writing and depicting history as

⁶⁸ Armand Mattelart, *Mapping World Communication: War, Progress, Culture* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 13.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 27.

⁷⁰ Mattelart notes in 1900, Sweden had one telephone for every 115 people while Russia had one per 7 000 persons. See Mattelart, 12.

that of the conventional monument. Whereas the former delineated physical material space by locating monuments within a public space presenting a narrative honouring great leaders and events, cinema's ability to offer a near real-time experience, quickly incorporated such narratives, delivering them through dispersed virtual spaces – theatres or public screenings. Like photography before it, the technology of cinema affords endless reproducibility and thus, innumerable opportunities for distribution. Consequently, cinema as an immaterial monument participates within a systematic structure or ideological network of production, execution and deployment as did its predecessor the conventional monument. From a broader historical perspective, it is important to note the advent of cinema was instrumental in expanding the process of modernity, which Anne Friedberg defines as “a social formation coincident with late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century industrialization and urbanisation”⁷¹ offering a physically disembodied virtual mode of experiencing the spatial sites of modernity virtually. Of critical importance, cinema's role as one of the emerging communication technologies in alliance with entrepreneurial capitalism assisted in the dissolution of the eighteenth-century concept of a public and prompted the “first major internationalisation of nascent mass culture.”⁷²

In his book *The Power Elite*, C. Wright Mills offers a concise analysis of the effects of the transformation from the classical eighteenth-century concept of the public to that of mass society and culture. Acknowledging the problem of the notion of a liberal public sphere Mill's analysis of the relation of communication technologies and organisation of society is useful in conceiving of the cinematic as monument. Highlighting the shift in ratio of the ‘givers of opinion’ to the receivers afforded by mass communication, Mills juxtaposes the interaction of ideas between two people or a group of people talking in person with each other to that of “one spokesperson who talks impersonally through a network of communications to millions of listeners and viewers.”⁷³

⁷¹ Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley, Oxford: University of California Press, 1993), 13.

⁷² Mattelart, 16.

⁷³ C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), 302.

Though acknowledging the presence of intermediary exchanges – discussion groups, meetings etc., - Mills' states four things occur in the 'mass' that are a paradigm shift. He writes, firstly, "far fewer people express the opinion than receive them, thus, the public becomes an abstract collective who receive impressions from the mass media." And secondly, "the communication networks are so organised it is difficult or impossible for the individual to answer back immediately or with any effect." Thirdly, "[t]he realisation of opinion in action is controlled by authorities who organise and control the channels of such action." Lastly, "[t]he mass has no autonomy from institutions; on the contrary, agents of authorised institutions penetrate this mass, reducing any autonomy it may have in the formation of opinion by discussion."⁷⁴ Reflective of the above structure, the emergence of film production and other communications technologies, as Alvin Gouldner argues, created the 'dissolution of traditional and localised communities' and were profoundly changed by the emergence of technological networks and infrastructure where "social interaction was less requisite for cultural community. People might now share information and orientations, facts and values, without mutual access and interaction."⁷⁵ As such, my subsequent discussion will demonstrate that cinema's history clearly reflects its use by political interests to administer values, ideology and specific narratives to that of a collective mass public.

Almost from the start of cinematic production in part due to its revolutionary newness and radical mobile visuality, as well as its capability in addressing a mass public, film quickly became a studied "object" of inquiry. By 1896, Maxim Gorky posited the existence of two types of viewer responses in film spectators. The first pertained to psychology of sense perception, the second involved cultural interpretation.⁷⁶ Some eighteen years later, Emilie Altenloh's 1914 book, entitled, *Towards a Sociology of Cinema: The Cinema Business and the Social Strata of*

⁷⁴ Mills, 304.

⁷⁵ See Alvin Gouldner, *The Dialectic of Ideology and Technology* (London: MacMillan, 1976), 95.

⁷⁶ Maxim Gorky quoted in *Early Cinema in Russia and its Cultural Reception*, ed. Richard Taylor, trans. Alan Bodger (London, New York: Routledge, 1994), 12

Cinemagoers, presented a sociological analysis of the relation of production and its audience. These two early studies regarding the relationship of film and viewer demonstrate an early understanding of the film medium as that which operates both on a socio-cultural plane as well as effecting immediate individual physiological responses to its form.

The advent of the moving camera and the adaptation of the literary novel into film permitted film to be conceived as ‘art’ and set the stage for the introduction of diegetic narrative to be experienced within film.⁷⁷ Emerging from this development, the works of Swedish directors such as Victor Sjöström, George F. Klerker and Maurice Stiller, who, in using events and stories from Swedish history gave birth to what was one of the first forms of a national cinema demonstrated the usefulness of the cinematic medium in ‘writing’ and ‘narrating’ a specific cultural and ideological history.⁷⁸

Admittedly, the integration of early cinema into national and ideological discourses that, in effect, harnessed national narratives of territorial space into spatio-temporal visibility, is but one of a number of cinematic histories I acknowledge and, of course, is not representative of all activities occurring within the early years of film. However, in keeping with the line of enquiry I am developing in this thesis, it is this aspect that I find most necessary to expand upon.

Furthermore, by virtue of Lewis’ quotation of two planned albeit unrealised works - *Das Kapital* and *The Story of Psychoanalysis* by the Russian director Sergei Eisenstein and the American producer Samuel Goldwyn respectively - specific histories pertaining to American and Soviet cinema is critical to the reading of his work. From the efforts of Lev Kuleshov, Dziga Vertov,

⁷⁷ The idea of cinema as ‘art’ was not a quickly accepted notion however, for it was seen by many in Europe and America as a danger to the young and a reflection of the urban dangers of the Twentieth century metropolis. Tom Gunning’s study of early cinema argues that much of what was produced was “pure exhibitionism” for voyeuristic fascination rather than artistic and narrative possibilities. See Anne Friedberg’s discussion of Gunning in *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern*, 87-88. It was the activities of the Russian and European avant-garde such as the surrealists, who did much to place cinema as one of the arts.

⁷⁸ Yuri Tsivian, *Early Cinema in Russia and its Cultural Reception*, 12.

Sergei Eisenstein, and Vsevolod Pudovkin, cinema was vigorously allied with educational possibilities.

As is well known, a significant focus of Russian cultural production found the synthesis of technological and artistic possibilities of film an efficient medium through which to deploy, reproduce and accelerate revolutionary ideals of the proletariat across the Soviet Union. Clearly, the revolutionary Soviet leaders recognised the didactic possibilities of the filmic event and cinema's ability to bridge the gap of class and that of textual literacy and or illiteracy. As John Ellis notes, "Lenin saw the main tasks of the ideological struggle as creating mass literacy and giving basic education in political skills."⁷⁹ In this way, film existed as what I shall term a cinematic immaterial monument that could instruct and thereby enlist the minds of the viewing populace to support the political and cultural revolution. With its multiple locations of display – the theatres, public spaces, agit-prop trains and boats - the cinema in the revolutionary period functioned as part of a larger planned dispersed strategic network that permitted a consistent ideological programme to be disseminated through such heterogeneous sites.

Reflecting this awareness of cinema's political exigencies, Lenin's statement that "of all the arts ... cinema is the most important"⁸⁰ indicates that even those who had little exposure to film recognised its potential. Trotsky in his 1923 article, "Vodka, the Church and the Cinema" makes comparison to Marx's concept of religion as the opium of the people, arguing in that cinema should be used to wake the masses from their alcoholic stupor fed by the State Vodka monopoly so as to illuminate them to their exploitation and the liberation by socialist struggle.⁸¹ He writes:

The cinema amuses, educates, strikes the imagination by images, and liberates you from the need of crossing the Church door. The cinema is a great competitor, not only for the

⁷⁹ John Ellis, "Politics/Ideology/Technique," in *Screen Reader 1, Cinema/Ideology/Politics* (London: Society for Education in Film and Television, 1977), VI.

⁸⁰ Lenin quoted in Eisenstein's "The Dramaturgy of Film Form (The Dialectic Approach to Film Form)"; in *The Eisenstein Reader*, ed. Richard Taylor (London: The British Film Institute, 1998), 110. Taylor notes the Commissar attributed this remark to Lenin by Anatoli Lunacharsky the Commissar for Popular Enlightenment. See n. 37, 199.

⁸¹ Richard Taylor, "Ideology and Popular Culture in Soviet Cinema: The Kiss of Mary Pickford." in *The Red Screen: Politics, Society, Art in Soviet Cinema*, ed. Anna Lawton, (New York, London: Routledge, 1992), 54.

public house, but of the Church. Here is an instrument which we must secure at all costs.⁸²

However, it should be noted that much of Russian cinema was created for sheer entertainment value and attempted to mimic and compete with the popularity of Hollywood films shown in major cities such as Moscow and St. Petersburg. Additionally and somewhat surprisingly, Anna Lawton notes, “Lunacharsky and Lenin pursued a policy of trying to interest foreign capitalists in investing money in Soviet film and producing films in Russia through the *Treaty of Rapallo* of April 1922.”⁸³ However, due to the Soviet State Commission of Education’s restrictions on film stock and the nationalisation of private property in July 1918, Soviet film production remained minimal for a number of years. Hence with the absence of Soviet-made work, the prominent circulation of American films such as D.W. Griffith’s *Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Intolerance* (1916), and as well as films starring Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford “exercised a tremendous influence on the filmmakers of the emerging Soviet movement.”⁸⁴ The impact of this is witnessed in Lev Kuleshov’s call for Soviet filmmakers to “emulate the intense pace of editing found in American cinema.”⁸⁵ As Richard Taylor notes, Lunacharsky also understood the importance of popular film dramas, as he was an author of a number of scripts. However, the mixing of the popular and the ideological permitted by Vladimir Lenin lasted up until 1928 when the desired results were seen to have fell short of the political goals. As a response to this problem, the first Party Conference on Cinema was held in March 1928 “to turn cinema,” Taylor writes, “into a more effective weapon for the Party during the cultural revolution that was to accompany the enormous changes of the First Five-Year Plan period.”⁸⁶ The subsequent result

⁸² Leon Trotsky quoted in Richard Taylor, op. cit., 54. See Leon D. Trotsky, *The Problems of Everyday Life* (New York: Monet, 1973), 31-35.

⁸³ See Anna Lawton, ed. *The Red Screen: Politics, Society, Art in Soviet Cinema*, 28.

⁸⁴ David Bordwell, Kristin Thompson eds. *Film Art: An Introduction*, 5th edition, (New York: McGraw-Hill, Ltd., 1997), 457.

⁸⁵ James Goodwin, *Eisenstein, Cinema, and History* (Urbana: University of Illinois - Urbana Press, 1993), 34

⁸⁶ Richard Taylor, “Ideology and Popular Culture in Soviet Cinema: The Kiss of Mary Pickford.” in *The Red Screen: Politics, Society, Art in Soviet Cinema*, 57 - 58.

was the creation in 1930 of the centralised cinema organisation Souizkino whose head Boris Sumiatsky “was not concerned with aesthetic notions of cinema specifically, but rather with the effective communication of a political message to a mass audience.”⁸⁷

The work of Dziga Vertov’s Cine-Eye group exemplified the merging of film with political ideals witnessed in his newsreel series ‘Kino-Pravda’ that “rejected all forms of art, popular or otherwise, as artifice” opting instead for the concept of ‘Film truth.’⁸⁸ However, it was in the writings and work of Sergei Eisenstein, who, as the foremost theoretician and practitioner in Soviet cinema during the 1920s (having studied at Kuleshov’s film workshop) explicitly argued the content and form of cinema was to serve an ideological end. Discussing his early concept of ‘attractions’ Eisenstein articulates what he later developed into his theory of montage, indicating his perspective of filmmaking as a formal strategy through which to construct definite ideological and emotional responses. He writes:

An attraction ... (in our diagnosis of theatre) is any aggressive moment in theatre, i.e. any element of it that subjects the audience to emotional or psychological influence, verified by experience and mathematically calculated to produce specific emotional shocks in the spectator in their proper order within the whole. These shocks provide the only opportunity of perceiving the ideological aspect of what being shown the final ideological conclusion.⁸⁹

For Eisenstein film was a form of language, a semiotic code that the viewer could participate in both consciously and unconsciously. His work sought to create “the sphere of a new film language ... that offered the opportunity of *abstract social evaluation*,” and as Taylor notes, this was to be expressed in the planned film version of Marx’s *Capital*.⁹⁰

Each of Eisenstein’s films can be understood as ‘immaterial monuments’ for their strident inclusion of political narratives that reflected the values, ideology and aspirations of the Revolution. Furthermore, Eisenstein’s use of film to commemorate the lives of great men of the

⁸⁷ Ibid., 60.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 53.

⁸⁹ Sergei Eisenstein, “*The Montage of Attractions, 1923*” *The Eisenstein Reader*, 30.

⁹⁰ Richard Taylor, “A Soviet Artist,” *Eisenstein Reader*, 11.

people, leaders and events mirrors that of the role of the conventional monument form.

Eisenstein's completed films of this period include *Strike* (1924) made for Proletkult; *The Two Skulls of Alexander the Great* (1926); *The Battleship Potemkin* (1926); *October* (1928), *The General Line* (1928); each dealt with the history of great men (Nevsky or Napoleon) or privileged the actions of groups reproducing dominant (or oppositional) currents of thought.⁹¹ However, in keeping with the ideals of a class revolution for the people, Eisenstein's films had no leading protagonists whose personal aspirations structured the narrative, instead, the ideals of the mass were presented through a single character. Additionally, the abstraction of narrative and sequential editing in Eisenstein's use of montage paralleled the abstraction of formal structures in other arts such as painting and sculpture.

Differing from the Soviet model of a working class revolution and the presence of an explicitly top down model of cultural production, early cinema in Western countries such as the United States demonstrates that film production appeared to function within a seemingly neutral sphere of free-market cultural production reputedly free of 'state interests.' However, in fact it often operated within a wholly ideological sphere particular to its sociological sites of production. While the former sought to produce representations of the class revolution whereby the proletariat would be unified through the removal of the bourgeoisie, the western model of early cinema nonetheless presented a dominant ideology often focussing on issues of class and promoting the idea that lower classes could only be reformed by their own aspirations to raise themselves to middle - or upper-class life by modelling their lives upon the acceptable behaviour of the higher classes via hard work and good morals. As Mike Cormack states:

The first assertion that a dominant ideology exists and is significant does not imply that everyone thinks the same way, or even that everybody in authority thinks the same way.

⁹¹ Marc Ferro, "Does a Film Writing of History Exist? The Case of the Soviet Union" in *The Red Screen: Politics, Society, Art in Soviet Cinema*, 319.

All that is necessary is sufficient agreement concerning the structure of the socio-economic system.⁹²

Not surprisingly, the links between government/national ideals and American film production - though less visible in an administrative sense - were nonetheless present in numerous productions and systems of production. Stephen Prince in *Visions of Empire: Political Imagery in Contemporary American Film* describes the ideological underpinnings of American film as follows:

an indirect, mediated, and symbolic process whereby Hollywood films reference salient clusters of social and political values and through the operatives of narrative, create a dialogue through and with these values and, on occasion, transform or revise them within the world of narrative.⁹³

Consequently, within early American film the discrete function of nation building and worldviews of a manifest destiny are located within a number of productions. Early American cinema not only transferred classic literary works, it created epic 'histories' such as D. W. Griffiths' *Birth of a Nation* (1915) which explicitly combined historic events - slavery, the Civil War, the formation of the Ku Klux Klan and the Reconstruction - with the fictional account of the Stoneman and Cameron families. Such works merged the role of entertainment with cultural lessons of America's past to serve the present and future goals of the nation and reflected Griffith's belief that it was possible to have the audience of his film experience "what it was like to be there" by providing a "properly adjusted window" onto the past where audiences "could actually see what happened."⁹⁴ As David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson observe, *Birth of a Nation's* "panoramic vision of a period of American history" required "omniscient narration" to create "the sense of many destinies intertwined with the fate of the country."⁹⁵

⁹² Mike Cormack, *Ideology and Cinematography in Hollywood 1930-9* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 10. Cormack's book provides an interesting analysis of how the cinematography in Hollywood film utilised certain modes of visual framing that reflected cultural and political values of the period.

⁹³ Stephen Prince, *Visions of Empire: Political Imagery in Contemporary American Film* (New York, London: Praeger Publishers, 1992), 7.

⁹⁴ Scott McGuire, *Visions of Modernity: Representation, Memory, Time and Space in the Age of the Camera* (London, Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1998), 15.

⁹⁵ David Bordwell, Kristin Thompson, *Film Art: An Introduction*, 102.

However, the work of Griffith was certainly not the first or the only production to express ideological interests in line with American nationalism and identity. For example, in 1898 the Vitagraph company produced two of the first propaganda films with their release of *Tearing Down the Spanish Flag* and the *Battle of Manila Bay*. Eighteen years later during the height of the First World War, Cecil B. DeMille's *The Little American* 1916, starring Mary Pickford depicted Germans as potential rapists and Vitagraph's *Womanhood, The Glory of a Nation* of (1917) portrayed America as invaded by thinly disguised Germans.⁹⁶

Furthering the ideological intersection of nationalism and popular entertainment, explicit and motivated relations between American government ideals and Hollywood cinema were forged at the end of the 1910s. As Garth Jowett explains "after a number of incidents in 1919 involving supposed revolutionaries" and the rise of sympathisers of Bolshevik ideals, the U.S. Attorney General Mitchell A. Palmer organised raids to counter this "threat to the nation." Quoting a report in the New York Times for January 1, 1929, Jowett notes the government's interest in the propaganda abilities of film:

The movies will be used to combat Bolshevik propaganda as the result of the conference held yesterday ... Mr. Lane (secretary of the interior) emphasised in his address the necessity of showing films depicting the great opportunities which industrious immigrants may find in this country, and of stories of poor men who have risen high. He suggested that the industry organise immediately to spread throughout the country the story of America as exemplified in the story of Lincoln.⁹⁷

An explicit example of the use of film to present an ideological perspective to counter the socialist ideals of the Soviet Union is found in the adaptation of Thomas A. Dixon's novel *Bolshevism of Trial* into a "filmic polemic against socialist doctrine."⁹⁸ Additionally, early cinema in America was instrumental in presenting the 'historical present' through the newsreel

⁹⁶ Anthony Slide, "American Propaganda Films of the First World War" in *Celluloid Power: Social Film Criticism from The Birth of a Nation to Judgement at Nuremberg*, ed. David Platt, (Meteuchen, New Jersey, London, 1992), 91.

⁹⁷ Garth Jowett, *Film: The Democratic Art* (Boston: Little, Brown and the American Film Institute, 1976), 187.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 187.

format that had begun in the First World War. By the 1920s Jowett notes, “each of the major movie studios had its own newsreels; Zukor had Paramount News; Universal, International, and Loews used Hearst Metrotone News.”⁹⁹ And “the merging of the newsreel and the Hollywood movie studio” he argues, “were of great importance in cementing the industry’s political connections, and Louis B. Mayer’s production of Hearst newsreels were instrumental in Hoover’s election campaign resulting in a Hoover’s friendship and affection of Mayer and his work.”¹⁰⁰

As we can see, the replicative qualities of film facilitated the dispersed ‘space’ of cinema through which the sublimation of national and ideological narratives created virtual “sites” of propaganda. On this history, James Hays offers this analysis:

What would be most useful are strategies for thinking about the historical dispersal (a historical geography) of ‘the cinematic,’ that is, how certain sites are (or have become) distinguished and engaged as cinematic in their relations to other sites. To study ‘the cinematic’ would involve considering the place(s) of film practices within an environment, of organising social relations into another environment.¹⁰¹

Thus, cinema as a monument represents an expansion of the conventional monument’s relational exchange between the notion of a fixed site and that of a network of many dispersed geographical sites. Whereas the conventional monument directly affected particular architectonic features on the landscape, cinema’s portability and reproducibility evade any particular material level of association to any local site, but rather, introduces multiple virtual sites not necessarily originating from a specific locality. However, with the understanding of cinema’s development as rooted in mass-cultural entertainment, its incorporation of ideologies when compared to the conventional monument, are in most cases more discretely masked at the level of production, distribution and content.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 189

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 189.

¹⁰¹ James Hays, “Piecing together what remains of the cinematic city” in *The Cinematic City*, ed. David B. Clarke. (London, New York: Routledge, 1997), 212.

Conclusion

In providing the above three historic moments in the history of the monument, I have shown the conventional monument form such as Girardon's Louis XIV, the temporary or utopian forms of monuments of Kolli and Tatlin, and the cinematic form expressed by Eisenstein or Griffith all construct for the spectator an analogous immersion into a ideologically narrative space. As I have argued, the conventional monument is a personification of a leader through semblance that functions as propaganda through the inclusion of an ideological narrative of nation and ruler. Thus, the conventional monument is by necessity a component in the propaganda network required to sustain the power of the state. As Jean-Jacques Rousseau stated, "whoever makes it his business to give laws to a people must know how to sway opinions and, though this, govern the passions of men."¹⁰² Extrapolating the linguistic term and placing each of these variations of the monument as syntactical forms, they can be understood as *morphemes* whose *narrative/text* function only through their interaction with larger but specific contexts constructed within society. As Gerard Genette has argued, a 'text' (or work) is always framed by an extra-discursive realm or in his terms, the 'para-text.'¹⁰³ The conventional monument and its successors are most importantly active agents in the making and writing of history in public space. Though all three forms of the monument I have outlined function as material manifestations of propaganda, the first two discussed are restricted by their material form and location within a specific public space. It is this division between the public and private space that the cinema as monument effaces. Moreover, once technology, infrastructure and cost permitted it, cinema's offspring of television furthered this conflation. In the essay "Propaganda, Information and Social Control", Michael Pickering defines propaganda as "a matter of the politics of information. It is a question

¹⁰² Jean-Jacques Rousseau quoted in Hans Speier, "The Rise of Public Opinion" in *Propaganda and Communication in World History*, Harold Lasswell, Daniel Lerner, Hans Speier, eds. 3 vols (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), vol 2: 151.

¹⁰³ See Richard Mackay description of Genette's 'paratext' in Gerard Genette, *Paratext: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge, UP., 1997), xvii

of accessibility and restrictiveness in the flow of information.”¹⁰⁴ The three moments in the history of the monument outlined represents the transformation from addressing a populace as subjects to that of a citizen within a mass public. With this in mind, the transition I have sought to outline is an attempt to place the cinematic form as a modern form of the monument, on one hand it reflects the sublimation of representational technologies to incorporate narratives of power or nationalism, and on the other, by its technological form radically alters the notion of site, place, and by extension, the ability to interpenetrate both public and private space. For the presence of cinema, specifically, its production, distribution and display network becomes itself the very ‘site’ of cinema. Within the context of the modern mass public, this abstraction from a material site into the dynamically transferable medium of film permitted propaganda to be distributed in a more rapid, yet often more innocuous fashion. Thus, in the modern nation, the rise of the mass public and the concept of democratic public opinion made propaganda and information management an important social force.”¹⁰⁵ This virtual territory, enmeshed within the machinations of political and technological motivations, is the abstraction of the utopian ideal place into a refracted yet, synchronous composite of the heterotopia – the meeting of space and time. Einstein’s observation concerning the synthesis of space and time in 1916 could well be a description of the future role of virtual moving images starting with the cinema. He writes:

It appears natural therefore more natural to think of physical reality as a four-dimensional existence, instead of, as hitherto, the evolution of a three-dimensional existence¹⁰⁶

Einstein’s observation scientifically proposed a plurality of time and space as a multi-dimensional reality, a concept later taken up by cultural and communication theorists in the later decades of the twentieth-century. In his analysis of a simultaneity within modern culture Michel Foucault

¹⁰⁴ Michael Pickering and Kevin Robins, Frank Webster, “Propaganda, Information and Social Control” in *Propaganda, Persuasion and Polemic*, ed. Jeremy Hawthorn (London: Edward Arnold, 1987), 8.

¹⁰⁵ Pickering, 8.

¹⁰⁶ Albert Einstein, *Relativity: The Special and the General Theory*, trans. Robert Lawson (London; Methuen, 1960) 15th ed., 150.

writes, “The heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible.”¹⁰⁷ Therefore, as an exemplary form of modern mass production, the site of the ideological motivations of cinema occurs not only in the images projected onto the screen, but also in the interconnected system of production, ideology and politics that it maintains for its very existence.

¹⁰⁷ Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces” (Lecture, ‘Des Espaces Autres’, 1967), trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16, 1 (Spring 1986), 23.

2. Monumental shift: The Counter-Monument and Mark Lewis' *What is to be Done?*

In outlining three historic moments of the monument 's history in Chapter 1, I have shown that though undergoing material changes to its physical form, the concept of the monument has adapted to changing socio-political demands enabling the continuation of narratives that serve political ends. Functioning within planned networks that offer sites of visibility through which to address mass subjects, publics and mass culture, the transition from the conventional monument to the cinematic monument is a history of the use of public space for ideological ends.

The aim of this chapter is twofold. First, I examine the counter-monument and its relation to concepts of site-specificity and Henri Lefebvre's perspectives regarding spatial theory in order to provide a link from the previous chapter's discussion to that of Lewis' work. Secondly, I discuss Lewis' public art project *What is to be Done?* (1990-91) as a counter-monument practice that exhibits a critical engagement with the aforementioned histories, as well as current socio-political and ideological issues. My examination of the work employs an interpretative reading incorporating art historical concerns and perspectives found in critical theory relating to the role of images, public space, and political and social structures. However, before proceeding with my discussion of *What is to be Done?*, it is necessary to offer an examination of what constitutes a counter-monument.

If iconoclastic acts against monuments have sought to physically alter or remove offending images from public space, the notion of the counter-monument, by way of offering a conceptually critical exposure of the contradictions inherent within the symbolism of monuments, can be understood as an evolution from the tradition of iconoclasm. While the actions taken against monuments during revolutions or the overturning of a political regime (as witnessed in France, Russia and the Eastern Bloc, and most recently in Iraq) symbolically enact an 'end' of a political power, counter-monument practices not only attempt to arrest a monument's ideological permanence, typically such works seek to make visible other narratives, histories and tensions

suppressed from a monument's official programme. Though counter-monument works are often discussed under the rubric of "public art" practices, for the sake of clarity and in keeping with my earlier definition of the conventional monument's role of writing and defining history within a designated public space, the following is my attempt to provide a description that forefronts and keeps in focus the term 'monument' – as the key operative and discursive distinction. I would agree that counter-monuments are a subset of what is accurately defined as 'critical public art', but it is important to delineate that not all critical public art therefore can be defined as counter-monuments. Having said this, I offer the following definition of a counter-monument that is carried forth in my discussion of Lewis' work to follow.¹⁰⁸

Perhaps the most pragmatic description posits counter-monuments as that which reflects and comments upon an existing monument. Such counter-monument works may or may not utilise the same material properties and, as I outline in the following examples, might not even present a mimetic semblance of the targeted monument in question, nor require a specific site. As my previous discussion has shown, the monument form, though having evolved into different mediums, is above all the public representation of a narrative of power as part of planned multiple, yet interconnected 'sites.' To this I would add, 'site' or 'place' need not be a topographical or architectonic place, but rather, as in the example of cinema or the museum, sites may be understood both on a material and an ideological level. For example, the concept of the museum operates within culture as a 'site' that is in essence an idea composed of value systems, ideologies and narratives. As such, it can be considered a site that materialises discourses of power that participate in legitimising particular aesthetic values and/or histories. Taking these considerations into its programme, the counter-monument work privileges the employment of a

¹⁰⁸ As discussed below in this chapter, counter-monument practices originated from critical public art of the nineteen-seventies and eighties, however, the term counter-monument gained widespread currency in the 1990's following the publication of James E. Young's *The Texture of Memory* in 1993 in which he discusses artists' responses to the Holocaust through the interrogation of the aesthetic, sociological and memorial function of monuments within Germany.

critical perspective typically premised upon the deconstruction of these values as they are associated with its referent - a material representation of a system, event or person of power that functions within an organised ideological network located within a public space or “public sphere.” Consequently, I would argue, a significant motivation for artists in devising counter-monument works is the attempt to prompt an ‘end’ to the aura of permanence and meaning associated with a referenced monument form. This said, counter-monuments may reveal but do not necessarily offer closure regarding the problematised ‘subject’ highlighted in the referenced ‘original’ monument. By placing the ideals of its very origin under examination, the counter-monument seeks to foreground the unstable and contradictory nature of form and content. Specifically, these operational strategies present a reworking of a monument’s use of site-specificity, ideology, and memory. Here, a monument’s site-specificity is invoked into the counter-monument’s programme to comment upon and re-evaluate the construction of meaning proposed through the proximity of immediate architectonic elements, the cultural significance of a ‘place’ or ‘site’ within a larger geo-political realm, and the relation and reception of the work to that of its ‘public’.

The second element – ideology – is addressed in counter-monument work as a dominant, and thereby, a prescriptive system whose networks define and prompt emphasis upon a desired narrative which the monument signifies. Often countering accepted collective memory and narratives of a given culture, counter-monument works attempt to expose such elements as either a false construction or one of a number of possible narratives or memories within a given context. Memory for such works exists therefore as a recuperative possibility through which to excavate ‘other’ memories, either collective or individual, or to juxtapose the past with the present. As Jan Assmann writes, “Cultural memory works by reconstructing, that is, it always relates its knowledges to an actual and contemporary situation.”¹⁰⁹ Consequently, through dissecting the

¹⁰⁹ Jan Assman, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” *New German Critique* 65 (Summer/Spring 1995), 127.

monument's intended meaning, counter-monuments provide a dialectical reversal to these operational processes.

Turning to a more specific art historical and theoretical focus, we can discern counter-monument practices as embodying the following twofold concerns germane to the trajectory of late-twentieth century art production: Firstly, the influence of site-specific art activities that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s witnessed in minimalist art, conceptual art and land art; and secondly, the rise of literary and critical cultural theory and its intersection into fields within the humanities and the subsequent incorporation of discourse-based approaches to art production from the late 1970s to the present. According to Erika Suderburg the term *site-specific* is "solely and precisely rooted within Western Euro-American modernism, born as it were, lodged between modernist notions of liberal progressiveness and radical tropes both formal and conceptual."¹¹⁰ Moreover, Kevin Melchionne argues that:

The notion of site-specificity has emerged as part of the cultural situation in which the artist pushes sculpture off its pedestal (and, as Krauss argues, beyond the very usefulness of the term "sculpture") in order to establish new relationships between the work of art, landscape, and built space.¹¹¹

However, as Douglas Crimp clarifies, site-specific art as practised by minimal artists in the 1960s, sought to create a circular and endlessly reciprocal relationship between "spectator, artwork and the place inhabited by both."¹¹² The problem, he argues, is that site specific works only extended the formal and experiential properties of the object to the site, abstracting and aestheticizing the latter. Reflecting on the works of artists such as Christo's *Running Fence* (1976) and Robert Smithson's *Spiral Jetty* (1970), Crimp's contention does hold a certain amount of legitimacy, though of course the tripartite environment he questions, I believe, does offer an experiential realm with the potential for critical possibilities. Yet Crimp argues it was not until

¹¹⁰ Erika Suderburg, "Introduction: On Installation and Site Specificity" in *Space, Site, Intervention: Situating Installation Art* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 4.

¹¹¹ Kevin Melchionne, "Rethinking Site-Specificity: Some Critical and Philosophical Problems," *Art Criticism*, Vol. 12, No. 2. 1997. 36.

¹¹² Douglas Crimp, *On the Museum's Ruins* (London, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995), 154.

artists such as Daniel Buren, Hans Haacke, Lawrence Weiner and Michael Asher that a materialist critique was able to succeed where minimal art failed in exposing and resisting the hidden material conditions of modern art.¹¹³ In her discussion of the infamous Richard Serra *Tilted Arc* controversy, Rosalyn Deutsche appears to avoid the minimalist origins of site-specificity in her claim that site-specific art practices first attempted to challenge modernist values in two exemplary methods. First, it questioned the ideals that fixed stable and neutral meanings to objects of cultural production. Secondly, it sought “to reveal how the constructions of an apparent autonomy disavows art’s social, economic, and political functions.”¹¹⁴ Thus, for Deutsche and Crimp the development of site-specific art, or perhaps more accurately critical site-specificity, is a genre that operates both outside and inside the confines of art’s institutions and reflects a consciousness of the cultural systems that produce, manage and define material production. Moreover, in its acknowledgement of these operations, site-specificity intends to orient attention to motivations of socio-political energies purposefully obscured by the need to maintain the trope of art’s self-referentially and autonomy at the levels of both production and reception. Though as Melchionne correctly observes later in his discussion, “site-specificity *per se* does not identify a particularly innovation in contemporary practice”¹¹⁵ As Deutsche’s comprehensive analysis in *Evictions* clearly details, public art created to assist and beautify public sites, conforming to development needs linked to real estate market forces, reflects the supposedly neutral and decidedly unprogressive conservative tendencies that sublimate site-specificity as a singularly aesthetic function.

The second concern, one that has informed the approach and production of counter-monument work and the genre of ‘critical public art’ in the last two decades of the twentieth-century, is the emergence of critical cultural theory regarding the concept and uses of the public

¹¹³ Ibid., 154.

¹¹⁴ Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (London, Cambridge, MA.: The MIT Press, 1996), 261.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 37.

sphere and public space. Notably, with the translation into English in the 1970s of theorists from the Frankfurt School such as Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and Walter Benjamin, a materialist critique of culture influenced the emerging interest in critical art practices. Alongside this group, the writings of Henri Lefebvre, Claude Lefort, Pierre Bourdieu and Jürgen Habermas offered socio-political readings of spatial practices within public space that have gained widespread interest throughout the humanities. With the publication of a number of seminal texts in the 1970s that introduced persuasive sociological approaches to the reading of the production of art, the work of numerous artists' began to incorporate concerns proposed in these writings. Texts such as T. J. Clark's 1973 *The Absolute Bourgeois* and *The Image of the People*,¹¹⁶ Hans Haacke's 'Statement' published in *Art into Society, Society into Art*, 1974¹¹⁷ and Victor Burgin's 'Socialist Formalism,' 1976,¹¹⁸ set the stage for what was termed the 'new social history of art'. Thus, with the history of visual production within the era of modernism now under dissection, a range of critical positions emerged. On the one hand, attempts to define modernism's termination were presented in the 1978 essay 'Modernism and Capitalism' by the conservative American sociologist Daniel Bell;¹¹⁹ or conversely, others espoused critical re-evaluations of modernism as argued by Jean-François Lyotard's *La Condition postmoderne: Rapport sur le savoir*, 1979,¹²⁰ and Craig Owens's landmark 'The Allegorical Impulse: Towards a Theory of Postmodernism', 1979.¹²¹ Still, others called for a continuation of modernism's humanist roots, as evinced in Jürgen Habermas's essay 'Modernity- An Incomplete Project' of 1980.¹²²

¹¹⁶ See T.J. Clark, *The Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1973) and *The Absolute Bourgeois*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1973)

¹¹⁷ Hans Haacke, 'Statement' in *Art into Society, Society into Art* (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1974), 63.

¹¹⁸ See Victor Burgin, "Socialist Formalism" *Studio International*, vol. 191, no. 980, London, (March/April 1976)

¹¹⁹ See Daniel Bell, "Modernism and Capitalism" incorporated as the preface in *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (New York, revised edition, 1978)

¹²⁰ Jean-François Lyotard, *La Condition postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir* (Paris, Seuil, 1979)

¹²¹ Craig Owens, "The Allegorical Impulse: Toward a Theory of Postmodernism" *October* 12. (Spring, 1980) 67-86.

¹²² Jürgen Habermas, "Modernity – An Incomplete Project" in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays in Postmodern Culture*, Hal Foster ed. (Seattle, Bay Press), 3-15.

Arguably, Henri Lefebvre's delineation of the historic function of public space provides one of the richest theoretical readings and is useful in situating counter-monument practice by contemporary artists. Lefebvre's most known aphorism, "social space also serves as a tool of thought and action, that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control and hence of domination, of power"¹²³ situates social space as a receptacle of potential vested political interests. In doing so, he claims its history in opposition to the Cartesian ideal of rational neutral space, thus, permitting space to be viewed as contested by negative and positive forces. As Rosalyn Deutsche observes, to describe a city as a social form rather than a collection and organisation of neutral physical objects implicitly affirms the right of currently excluded groups to have access to the city, to make decisions about the spaces they use and to refuse marginalization.¹²⁴

Key to Lefebvre's enquiry is his theory of spatial terms correlating societal practices, the material deployments of urban space and the interactions of citizens within such sites. The first term, *spatial practice*, encompasses the reproduction of relations of production, notably the division of labour and the interaction between people of different groups. Lefebvre's second term, *representation of space*, is posited as the dominant structuring activity within society, the space of planners, social engineers and technocratic urbanists.¹²⁵ From these two modalities emerge the experiences that Lefebvre argues occur in the lived environments of citizens defined as "representational space." Describing this third term, Lefebvre writes:

[Representational space] is space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of "inhabitants" and "users" . . . This is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making use of its objects. Thus, representational

¹²³ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, U.K. and Cambridge, Mass: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1991), 26.

¹²⁴ Rosalyn Deutsche. *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (London U.K. and Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1996), 53.

¹²⁵ Edward Dimmendberg, "Henri Lefebvre on Abstract Space" in *The Production of Public Space: Philosophy and Geography II*, Andrew Light and Jonathan Smith eds. (Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Inc., 1998), 20.

spaces may be said, though again with certain exceptions, to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs.¹²⁶

The fourth term, referred to as *abstract space*, is the hallmark of modernity combining the dominated material space created through the *representation of space* of pre-modernity. It permits modes of production “no longer isolated in independent units within space” writes Deutsche, “but, instead, takes place across vast spatial networks.”¹²⁷

Lefebvre’s theories on the politics of space provide a further context through which my discussion of the role of the monument and counter-monument in public space can be understood. Here, I would argue the creation and role of the conventional monument and its variation within revolutionary Russia can be situated within Lefebvre’s category *representational space*. For such sites were the results of strategically planned efforts to visibly demarcate social space through which a prescribed ideological narrative structured the experience and meaning received by the viewer. The concept of *abstract space*, essentially the by-product of capitalist production and exchange, represents the economic structure of society that privileges “reproducibility, repetition and reproduction of social relations”¹²⁸ and provides the site within which the cinematic network functions. The power of abstract space lies in its ability to conceal social and economic differences presenting a deceptive veil of unity and coherence, thus acting as a pacifier; it neutralises critical perspectives and debate. As Deutsche observes, abstract space is comprised of three qualities: first, the uniformity allows for control, manipulation and exchange. Its second feature permits it to be fragmented and can be placed within a system of exchange where it is actualised as a commodity. Lastly, abstract space is hierarchically ordered, divided into upper, middle, and lower status spaces.¹²⁹

The focus of Lefebvre’s work, like the work of Michel Foucault or Pierre Bourdieu, is a

¹²⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 39.

¹²⁷ Deutsche, *Evictions*, 73.

¹²⁸ Henri Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 120.

¹²⁹ Deutsche, *Evictions*, 75.

critical examination of the development of modernity as a site not of natural progress, but one of contradictions and myths. As Walter Klepac notes, such modes of critical enquiry, termed postmodernism by the late 1970s, were conceptually and strategically indebted to these “French intellectuals referred to as the poststructuralists”¹³⁰ On the relation of the latter to postmodernism, Andreas Huyssen offers the following:

I think we must begin to entertain the notion that rather than offering a *theory of postmodernity* and developing an analysis of contemporary culture, French theory provides us primarily with an *archaeology of modernity*, a theory of modernism at the stage of its exhaustion. It is as if the creative powers of modernism had migrated into theory and come to full self-consciousness in the poststructuralist text – the owl of Minerva spreading its wings at the fall of dusk. Poststructuralism offers a theory of modernism characterised by *Nachträglichkeit*, both in the psychoanalytic and the historical sense.¹³¹

The adoption of these critical sociological enquiries within art history and art production in the late 1970s, led to artists’ works that examined the role of public space and monuments. These practices highlight the relationship of an embodied and engaged viewer with works created by engaged and sociologically concerned art producers.¹³² Klepac comments on postmodernist work: “the degree to which the element of complicity on the part of the spectator is involved in the meaning and the structure of the work. This work, in effect, forces one to complete it, that is, to locate and fix the meaning of its images and signs.”¹³³ Thus, the artist’s role took on the function of social critic who, as an ‘archaeologist’ of modernity, history and culture, sought to wrench art production from modernism’s formal hermetic self-referentiality and cast it in a socially meaningful role that was participatory in progressive social concerns, be it politics, issues

¹³⁰ Walter Klepac, “The Order of Words, the Order of Things: Deconstruction in Contemporary Art” in Jessica Bradley, Lesley Johnstone, eds. *Sightlines: Reading Contemporary Canadian Art*, (Montréal: Artexes editions, 1994) 251. First printed in *C Magazine*, no. 3 (1984).

¹³¹ Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986), 209.

¹³² This notion of an engaged and embodied viewer stands in contrast to the disembodied or ‘disinterested’ spectator in the Kantian sense of the modernist work of art. The first places a reciprocity between work and viewer to create meaning, while the second foregrounds the work self-contained in its value and as the sole agent from which meaning is situated, to which the viewer bring themselves.

¹³³ Walter Klepac, “The Order of Words, the Order of Things: Deconstruction in Contemporary Art,” 265.

of race, ethnicity and/or gender. In the last three decades of the twentieth century, artists such as Jochen Gerz, Michael Asher, Krzysztof Wodiczko, and Horst Hoheisel developed counter-monument practices in public space through archaeological, interventionist, and political approaches. The work of Jochen Gerz is one of the most consistent artistic practices focusing on public space. Through the use of posters, photography and monuments, his work displays an understanding of public space as encoded through language which, as Marion Hohlfecht notes, displays Michel de Certeau's observation that such space, like all narrative structures, uses syntax that depends on notions of space.¹³⁴ His first work of 1968, comprised of a single sticker with the words *Caution Art Corrupts* affixed to Michelangelo's *David* (Fig. 7) in Florence efficiently signalled the intersection of art, language and public space. Confronted by this polemical statement, the viewer's encounter of the statue is radically altered from an encounter of fetishistic delight into one weighed down by the suggestion that socio-political motivations are inscribed within art's function in public space. Gerz's economy of means dialectically repositions this historical work into that of a counter-monument confronting its own symbolic role in art history and western culture. Gerz's best-known work, the *Monument against Fascism*, 1986-1993 (Fig. 8) in Harburg, Germany, consisted of a 12m x 1m sq. hollow aluminium obelisk form covered in soft dark lead, exhibiting his continued privileging of text with that of site-specific representations. Offering the viewer a 'site of memory' in which the viewer was invited to participate by engraving their names using a steel stylus on the lead, the work creates a public space of resistance, action and consciousness. Furthermore, like Lenin's call for temporary monuments, Gerz's work was gradually lowered over seven years until it completely disappeared on November 19, 1993. Andreas Hapkemeyer writes:

unlike the conventional monument which replies to the impermanence of life by setting up something static and apparently imperishable, Gerz attempts to make the monument

¹³⁴ Michel de Certeau cited in Marion Hohlfecht, "Caution Art Corrupts: Reflection on the meaning of Public Spaces in the Work of Jochen Gerz." *Jochen Gerz, Res Publica: The Public Works 1968-1999*. exhibition catalogue (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 1999), 11.

and the human being more similar to one another, since the monument too is subject to the workings of time.¹³⁵

Gerz's work counters the concept of a monument's permanence and is a proposition that claims the importance of memory as that which requires active participation and functions beyond the presence of material markers of culture such as monuments. As such, it calls for an active physically-lived consciousness rather than a static representation of memory. One of most prolific contributors to the discussion of the role of memory in monuments and counter-monuments is James E. Young, whose work *Texture of Memory*, analysed the role of 'memory' within both forms.¹³⁶ On Jochen Gerz's counter-monument work Young offers the following:

With audacious simplicity, the counter-monument thus flouts any number of cherished memorial conventions; its aim is not to console but to provoke; not to remain fixed but to change; not to be everlasting but to disappear; not to be ignored by passer-by's but to demand interaction; not to remain pristine but to invite its own violation and desecration; not to accept graciously the burden of memory but to throw it back at the town's feet.¹³⁷

Horst Hoheisel's *Negative Form Monument to the Aschrottbrunnen Fountain* in Kassel similarly addresses the history of fascism by deleting and reversing the vertical three-dimensional form of the monument. Contained within a fountain designed by Karl Roth in 1908 that was destroyed by the Nazis April 8, 1939, Hoheisel inverted the form of the destroyed monument so that it appears as a hollow cast structure that is inserted into the ground. Here, the memory of Fascism's history is reversed so its actions towards the monument, city and nation appear as a physical void of the ruined monument. As such, the work allegorically references the empty space of German history and cultural memory interrupted by the Nationalist Socialist movement prompting viewers to address the need for restorative actions of mourning to fill this history with consciousness.

¹³⁵ Andreas Hapkemeyer, "The principle of Dialog in Jochen Gerz's Works for Public Spaces" in *Jochen Gerz: Res Publica: The Public Works 1968-1999*, 23.

¹³⁶ See James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

¹³⁷ James E. Young, "The Counter-Monument against itself in Germany today" *Art in the Public Sphere* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 59.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, using high-powered projectors to project images onto existing monuments, building walls, and landscapes, the Polish-born artist Krzysztof Wodiczko addressed particular historic moments, events and sites to critique the rhetorical legacy enacted through the creation of monuments, civic memories and political beliefs. Typically, the images projected onto these surfaces exposed the latent ideological and socio-political paradoxes of said locations, and the relationship of actors that delineate public and social spaces, as well as contemporary socio-political issues. By addressing the superstructure of social space through its representations of leaders, victors and heroes, Wodiczko's projections literally and figuratively illuminate the hidden and overlooked urban landscape. Wodiczko writes:

The meaning of the city monument – whether intentional or unintentional, historic or contemporary – must be secured today, as in the past, through the ability of the inhabitants to project and superimpose their critical thoughts and reflections on the monument forms ... not to speak through the city monuments is to abandon ourselves, losing both a sense of history and the present. Today more than before the meaning of our monuments depends on our active role in turning them into sites of memory and critical evaluation of history as well as places of public discourse and action. This agenda is not only social or political or activist, it is also an aesthetic mission.¹³⁸

For example, on New Years Eve of 1984-85, Wodiczko used the *Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Arch* (Fig. 10) at the Grand Army Plaza, Brooklyn, New York, on which he projected one of his most renowned night projections. Constructed in 1876, the arch commemorates the epic struggle of the North over the South in the American Civil War. As the victors inevitably write history, this monument celebrates the victory of the north in the bloodiest wars in the Western world. Situated on a north/south axis in the Grand Army Plaza, the sculptural programme is placed on the south facing side of the arch presenting the narrative of the North's mission and their victory. As Wodiczko notes, the arch has three other sides on which sculptural forms might have been placed. However, the south side is the only adorned facade. The narrative is, in effect, directed toward the geographic location of the story, specifically, to those who lost – the South. Under the darkness of the city night, superimposed on the mass of stone of the blank north facing facade,

the shimmering image of two missiles - one American and one Russian connected by chains - represented the tools of the geo-political competitiveness of the Cold War. Casting a ghost-like glow, the projection flashed into the urban night but only briefly. The image shone for 60 minutes from 11: 30, December 31st, 1984 to January 1st, 1985. Through this montage combining the immateriality of the photographic image on stone, Wodiczko inscribes the images of modernity's destructive forces on the unadorned north-facing surface of the victors.

As outlined above, the works of Gerz, Hoheisel and Wodiczko, utilise a prevalent psychological aspect of the conventional monument, that of memory. However, as counter-monuments, their work shifts the subject referenced - an event or person memorialised and commemorated - to that of the viewer, who, as Crimp argues, becomes the subject of the counter-monument.¹³⁹ In keeping with their intention to analyse the histories incorporated in the traditional monument, such practices interrupt the function of memory in public space. As Young writes:

[The] counter-monuments forces the memorial to disperse – not to gather memory even as it gathers the literal effects of time in one place ... the counter-monument asks us to recognize that time and memory are interdependent, in dialectical flux.¹⁴⁰

As such, these counter-monument works represent interventions into public space that in highlighting the histories and memories of objects within Lefebvre's concept of *representations of space*, display the lived experience of *spatial practice* as a possibility of shared and communicative actions. An aspect crucial to the meaning of counter-monument practices, as witnessed in Gerz' and Hoheisel's work, is their engagement with the surrounding historical, social and political context of their production.

Another form of counter-monument practice necessary to consider so as to offer a historical context from which we can develop a critical reading of Lewis' Lenin statue, can be found in the

¹³⁸ Krzysztof Wodiczko cited in *Works*, Exhibition Brochure, (Hirshorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington D.C. 1988), Unpaginated.

¹³⁹ Douglas Crimp quoted in *Art and the Public Sphere*, 60.

¹⁴⁰ James E. Young, "The Counter-Monument against itself in Germany" in *Art in the Public Sphere*, 76.

work of artists who examine the role and structure of the museum as a 'site' of power and ideology. As René Payant wrote "The museum is a narrative apparatus that writes history from a certain point of view, all the while conveying the impression that its role is not to comment but to simply represent."¹⁴¹ Clearly, the existence of a museum requires either a relation to wealthy private interests and/or a financially able governing power, and as such, participates in upholding values particular to such interests. Therefore, in positioning the museum as a monument, the notion of site-specificity is that of an 'idea' (the museum institution) as a specifically culturally produced and, more critically perhaps, reproduced form. In my view, the work of Marcel Broodthaers, Hans Haacke and Michael Asher, whose practices isolate the 'museum' as a specific element of cultural production - a site that creates, reproduces and disseminates narratives that construct history through value systems - each function as counter-monument practices.

Broodthaers infamous 1968 work, entitled the *Musée d'Art Moderne, Département des Aigles, Section XIXème Siècle*, represents one of the first comprehensive critical deconstructions of the museum. In this work, the artist brought fiction and reality together as a means to expose the cultural mechanisms of the validation of cultural production. Here, the concept of the museum was framed as a systematically reproduced network that actualises cultural preferences and history through supposedly neutral practices of collecting, classification and display. Inaugurated by an 'official' opening on September 27, 1968, Broodthaers' museum was in fact located in his own home located at 30, rue de la Pépinière in Brussels. It contained, as Crimp outlines:

empty picture crates and thirty postcards of nineteenth century French painters such as David, Ingres, Courbet, Messiaen, and Puvis de Chavannes. A ladder leaned against a wall, numbers on doors appeared to designate rooms as galleries, and the words "musée/museum" were inscribed on the windows, readable from the outside. During the event slides of prints by Grandville were projected.¹⁴²

The work extended over four years, consisting of official letters and statements from the museum

¹⁴¹ René Payant, "The Shock of the Present" in *Sighlines: Reading Contemporary Canadian Art*, 235.

¹⁴² Douglas Crimp, *On the Museums Ruins* (London and Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1993), 208-209.

director - Broodthaers himself - and a closing ceremony followed by an announcement of the sale of the museum. This mimetic project, which can be defined as a *caricature*,¹⁴³ conflated the site of production with that of reception, as Crimp suggests, and “reveals their interdependence and calls into question the ideological determination of their separation: the bourgeois liberal categories private and public.”¹⁴⁴

Taking a more socio-political approach, Hans Haacke’s survey works such as *Gallery-Goers Residence Profile* (1969) and *MoMA Poll*, (1970) situated the museum as a politically charged site. Each works questioned the museum visitors’ opinions regarding the topics of Haacke’s works. In the former, he polled the public to obtain a demographic profile of the museum attendance. The work challenged the conception of art audiences as without social divisions demonstrating that they are composed of “specific subjects of class and race.”¹⁴⁵ As Deutsche comments, Haacke “yielded sociological information about the status and class composition of the art world”¹⁴⁶ In *MoMA Poll*, Haacke expanded on the notion of the museum as a public space and thus, a site where public opinion may be expressed. In particular, this work sought to problematize and, at least theoretically, implicate the museum site as complicit with American geo-politics and foreign policy regarding South East Asia by putting forth the following question to the museum visitor: “Would the fact that Governor Rockefeller has not denounced President Nixon’s Indochina policy be good reason for you not to vote him in November?”¹⁴⁷ Deutsche observes that the work “revealed art’s social context prompting public scrutiny of the social

¹⁴³ Outlining Gerard Genette’s types of imitation, Olivier Asselin writes that pastiche is a playful imitation and aims only to amuse while caricature is a satirical imitation that mocks or can even be aggressive towards its model. Lastly, forgery is serious imitation; it attempts to pass itself off as its model. See Olivier Asselin, “Portrait of the Artist as Ape-Savant: Mimetism as Archaeology of Knowledge” *Fiction or Other Accounts of Photography*, France Choinière and Stephen Horne, eds. (Montréal: Dazibao, 2000), 79.

¹⁴⁴ Crimp, 209.

¹⁴⁵ Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions*, 166.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 166.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 166.

structure of the art institution and the economic interests of those who control it.”¹⁴⁸ This being said, such a ‘Trojan horse’ action evidently raises some questions about Haacke, who, with a major show at a world-renowned art institution, no doubt benefited as an artist through such an iconoclastic gesture. Furthermore, the question of Haacke’s remuneration as an artist showing at MoMA is also of relevant concern.

Providing a less overt critique of the role of the museum, Michael Asher’s *Untitled Installation*, 1979 (Fig. 11 and Fig. 12), at the Art Institute of Chicago presented a more art-historical investigation. Questioning the creation of meaning via the role of context and site-specificity as well as the function of reproduction - the by-product of museums’ desire to establish its abilities within the circuit of value demonstrated by their holdings - Asher relocated a statue of George Washington that normally stood outside at the institution’s main entrance into the gallery of eighteenth-century French art. Amidst the salon-style hanging of paintings by David, Greuze, and Hubert Robert, as Thomas Crow noted, it “assumed a comfortable appropriateness.”¹⁴⁹ When situated outside the museum, the statue took on a role of a civic marker - a mnemonic device for the citizen to recognize that both public space and the museum about to be entered are sites of ‘democracy’ enabled by the greatness of the country’s founding father. However, when relocated inside the museum, the work took on a surplus value commensurate with the fetishization, collection and commodification of objects. The latter, I would argue, reduced the statue and its attendant discursive references to that which reflects the arbitrariness of the auratic formation of aesthetic objects. Yet by the very fact the statue was a replica of a more ‘valued’ production, its presence within the room displaying reputed artistic masterpieces brought into question the existence of value, connoisseurship and criteria that define and demarcate objects authenticity. In sum, the very legitimacy of the surrounding holdings of art in the room were also put into question.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 166.

What is to be Done? as a Counter-monument

Mark Lewis' public artwork in the 1990s represents his move away from a primarily photographic based practice in the 1980s: yet in terms of content, there is continuity in that the latter projects based on monuments can be understood as an expansion of his earlier considerations on photography as a socio-politically charged medium. If we are to situate this phase in his career, it can be described as a midsection in his artistic output that represents a shift from a focus on the production and consumption of photographic images in Western culture to an investigation into the role of monuments in public space. Offering a number of readings, Lewis' work displays an expanded discourse of site-specificity, and mirrors Walter Benjamin's theoretical archeo-topographic reading of the city form, history, and the role of images in critiquing and exposing tradition, ideology and memory. I acknowledge my reading of Benjamin here, is of course symptomatic, and in the course of this comparatively brief excursion, I will not be able to reflect the full breadth of his thought. This said, I would suggest that *What is to be Done?* incorporates Benjamin's allegorical method of revealing the present by juxtaposing it with a symbolic motif of the past. Thus, my reading of this work, emphasises how it incorporates allegorical modalities of historical moments both artistic and political, bringing to the fore the notion of the 'end of history' and the role of ideology (or supposed lack of) in the West. With the collapse of the socialist states (not unlike previous revolutions throughout history), cultural memory of this era is being redefined and recalibrated to satisfy the historical present. In this sense, the claim of a 'new world order' as announced by George Bush in the early nineteen-nineties is a paradoxical relationship between a forced amnesia to assist the claim of a new beginning and the elliptical desire to uphold the past as a negative memory that posits the present as an explicit difference to the superseded "other time." With this historic context in mind, *What*

¹⁴⁹ Thomas Crow, *Modern Art in the Common Culture* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1996), 141.

is to be Done? foregrounds and questions this climactic end of socialism and the legacy of the revolutionary artistic avant-garde, notably the incorporation of its ideals into subsequent critical art practice.

What is to be Done? offers a multidimensional engagement with theory, history, politics and aesthetic strategies expressed through a seemingly simple sculptural form. In this poignant and insightful, yet ironically humorous piece, Lewis created four 1:6 scale plaster replicas of a statue of Vladimir Lenin that once stood in the center of Bucharest, Romania. Not only were these replicas dimensionally altered, standing about seven feet in height, but also in parallel with the ungraceful ending the original met with at the hands of the citizens of Bucharest, Lewis uprooted the image of Lenin from this specific site and placed it amidst the capitalist streets of the West. The original Bucharest Lenin, made of bronze and stone, weighing two tons, and standing 30 feet in height, stood over the city as a tangible material form of monumental propaganda representing the Russian revolution and its subsequent expansion. Removed from the context of the once-Communist Romania, Lewis' replicas were strategically placed in specific sites within the cities of Montréal (February 1991) (Fig.1), Québec City (November 1990) (Fig.13), Toronto (July 1991), and Oxford, England (June 1990) (Fig. 14). Here, we note the rather obvious but critical geographic element. Not only are these cities located in what is considered the NATO Alliance, but the all are located in countries with parliamentary democracies based upon capitalist market systems.

The Montréal 'Lenin' was located in Parc Lafontaine, which within local geographical and cultural histories of the city is situated on the eastern side of the often cited divide of St. Laurent boulevard that for much of Montréal's history demarcated the line between English and French inhabitants of the city. This cultural history, though not perhaps at the heart of the other Lenin works, is nonetheless a factor that is manifested in part due to Lewis' specific placement of the Lenin directly in front of a statue entitled *Debout* that commemorates Félix Leclerc, a popular

Quebec poet, singer and noted Sovereignist. Created in 1990 by the sculptor Roger Langevin two years after the death of Leclerc in 1988, the statue is, as Lise Lamarche notes, similar in execution to the socialist realist style of the Lenin work.¹⁵⁰ Additionally, as Marc Leger observes, the Leclerc statue is “one of many political (nationalist) public monuments in the park” and thus “[t]he context for public art in ‘Parc Lafontaine’ is highly charged politically.”¹⁵¹ This is further emphasised by the fact that through public subscription the Langevin statue was purchased by the ‘Mouvement National des Québécois.’¹⁵² The Lenin placed in Québec City faced a monument to the Boer War - a colonialist drama in South Africa that left a political legacy South Africa was still trying to resolve in 1991,¹⁵³ while in Oxford, England, Lewis situated the Lenin replica on a street corner with its gaze directed at the city’s Museum of Modern Art across the street, a site that Len Guenther defined as a monument to art’s autonomy.¹⁵⁴ Lastly, in Toronto, Lewis’ Lenin appears to signal a less definite referent, as it was perched on the shoreline of Lake Ontario where, as Guenther notes, “Lewis erected Lenin to face the Toronto islands, themselves a kind of monument to familialism and neighbourhood.”¹⁵⁵ Additionally, if one considers the city of Toronto as the pre-eminent metropolis of Canada, the islands represent the last remnant of a pre-urban development, a site that has avoided the capitalist force of modernity – consumerism and real estate development. However, Lorenzo Buj in his review of *What is to be Done?* proposes a

¹⁵⁰ See Lise Lamarche, “Les Monuments de l’est: Notes à partir d’une exposition de Mark Lewis,” *Espace* #28, (Summer 1991), 28-30.

¹⁵¹ Additionally, Léger astutely notes Lewis’ work also contrasted markedly to Langevin’s *Debout* observing the legs of Leclerc are massed like tree trunks evoking his rootedness in the soil of the nation, while Lewis’s Lenin which stood upon a large base. Marc James Leger, *A Fragment of the Berlin Wall in the ‘Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal’: Notes Toward a Theory of the Public Artefact at the End of History*, MA Thesis, Department of Art History, (Montréal: Concordia University, 1997), 68.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 68.

¹⁵³ For a detailed history of South Africa and apartheid, see Brian Lapping, *Apartheid: A History* (New York: George Brailler, Inc., 1989)

¹⁵⁴ Len Guenther, “Mark Lewis, at The Power Plant, June 28-August 25” *Parachute* 65, (January-February-March, 1992), 58-59. The definition of the modern art museum as a site that neutralises political and sociological motivations and contexts of art production and reception has been the subject of a number of books and essays. See Serge Guilbault’s, *How New York Stole Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War*. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1983).

¹⁵⁵ Guenther, 58.

more fertile reading. Noting the placement of the work behind the PowerPlant gallery situated on the north shoreline of Lake Ontario, he states that the gaze of the southward-facing Lenin is directed towards the opposite side of the lake – to the United States.¹⁵⁶ Interestingly, though Buj titles his essay “Lenin in America,” all four of Lewis’ Lenin statues were situated outside the United States. This fact, I believe, is of some significance when one considers that the demise of the Soviet Union and the communism in Eastern Europe is often attributed to the sustained pressure - both military, economic and ideological - from the United States over the forty years of the ‘Cold War.’

Recognising the multiple elements that structure narrative meaning in the conventional monument, Lewis’ statues replicated its primary components. In a similar manner to the practice of placing monuments in multiple sites, Lewis recreates the network system employed by its referent – the numerous statues of Lenin. Though reduced and constructed of wood, Lewis’ sculptures were finished in bronze patina paint evoking a certain legitimacy to their form and were mounted on wooden plinths. Furthermore, Lewis affixed an engraved plaque to the wooden plinths supporting the statue that, in a clearly provocative manner, offered a textual narrative guiding the viewer to a certain understanding of the work. The plaque stated:

This statue is a one third plaster replica of a twelve ton bronze statue of Lenin recently removed from the city of Bucharest. An anonymous collector has purchased the statue from the Mayor of Bucharest and would like to donate it for public display in this city. This is the proposed site for the statue.

Not surprisingly, and no doubt expected by Lewis, the response to the presence of the work was sharp. Buj writes:

The reception of the statue in each city was one of controversy, notably in Montréal and Toronto. In Toronto the work was vandalised and gallery staff at Power Plant (the gallery that sponsored the Lewis’ work in that city) were “subject to almost daily tirades” and the “curator received anonymous death threats and East European expatriates and at least one city politician demanded its removal.”¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ Lorenzo Buj, “Lenin in America,” *Artforum*, vol. xxx, No. 6, (February 1992), 27

¹⁵⁷ Guenther, 58

Similarly, the statue in Montréal was exposed to similar outcry and, in fact, the work disappeared completely as Lorenzo Buj notes, “ ... in Montréal, it was ripped from its moorings and vanished altogether, just a day after the Soviet Consulate had unsuccessfully petitioned the mayor for its removal as “an insult to Lenin.”¹⁵⁸

As evidenced by the above reactions to Lewis’ work, as a counter-monument its possible meanings, through the relationship between such an image’s history, present events and the present site, were reduced to the statue’s mimetic resemblance of Lenin. Consequently, not unlike the fate of statues within the collapsing East Bloc regimes, Lenin’s image was again taken as a ‘sign’ of something unwanted, of a certain power and a negative history. George Baird writes:

The hostility and anger that has so often greeted the installation of memorials and statues in various cities recently is testimony to the tendency of public artworks-and sometimes even architecture-to highlight the bitter contestation of meaning that occurs in relation to the semiotics of the existing public sphere. Public works may not inaugurate this contestation but perhaps – not least because of the complex history of the public monument – they uniquely precipitate the identifications and projection that allow debate to surface.¹⁵⁹

Thus, when placed in Montréal or Toronto following the political collapse of the socialist system, the public viewed the reappearance of Lenin as either an absurd joke, or the misguided act of a person seeking to celebrate Lenin. Admittedly, such literal responses – either the Soviet consulate’s interpretation of a slight against Lenin, or the probable reading of the image as representative of a ‘totalitarian’ history by members of the public - are perhaps an inevitable outcome. However, beyond such reactions one may acknowledge the potential of subtler readings of *What is to Done?*. Thus, I will now examine other readings of the project. First, I will outline three themes within Benjamin’s thought that I believe are incorporated in Lewis’ artistic practice and are successfully consolidated as methodologies in his monument works. In his book

¹⁵⁸ Lorenzo Buj, 27

¹⁵⁹ George Baird, “Praxis and Representation” in *Queues, Rendezvous, Riots: Questioning the Public in Art and Architecture*, Exhibition catalogue (Banff, Banff Centre for the Arts: Walter Phillips Gallery, 1994), 8.

Myth and Metropolis, Graeme Gilloch highlights three approaches through which Benjamin developed his critical theory of urban history:

1. Archaeological: an approach concerned with the salvation and preservation of the objects and traces of the past that modern society threatens to destroy.
2. Memorial: Benjamin exhorts the critical theorist to oppose the modern propensity for amnesia, to remember those whose struggles and sufferings in the past would otherwise be forgotten.
3. Dialectical: Benjamin develops his conception of the dialectical image, the momentary mutual recognition and illumination of past and present.¹⁶⁰

Placing the above considerations as operative strategies in *What is to be Done?* requires that the work to be examined as a commentary and reworking of elements that structure the conventional monument as discussed: site-specificity, narrative, and ideology. As a counter-monument, *What is to be Done?* challenges and expands the role of site-specificity of the conventional monument to include a multiplicity of narrative 'sites.' It is Lewis' use of site-specificity - a term emblematic of late-twentieth-century art production - that provides *What is to be Done?* with the conceptual scaffolding through which it displays Benjamin's theory of allegory. As noted in my discussion of the work of Hans Haacke, Michael Asher and Krzysztof Wodiczko, the evolution of site-specificity in the 1970s expands upon the modernist self-reflexive and autonomous art object or sculpture to incorporate larger socio-political discourses. Discussing this shift as witnessed in the art of such artists, Miwon Kwon puts it this way:

the "site" of art evolves away from its coincidence with the literal space of art, and the physical conditions of a specific location recedes as the primary element of a site ... rather the techniques and effects of the art institution as they circumscribe the definition, production, presentation and dissemination of art that becomes the site of critical intervention.¹⁶¹

In their placement at four sites, the Lenin sculptures seek not to be read as material objects whose semblance of Lenin are to be viewed and contemplated within an aesthetic range of values guided

¹⁶⁰ Graeme Gilloch, *Myth and Metropolis: Walter Benjamin and the City* (Cambridge, Oxford: Polity Press, 1996), 13.

¹⁶¹ Miwon Kwon, "One Place After Another: Notes on Site Specificity" *October*, 80. (Spring 1997), 91.

by judgements of artistic quality or productive genius, as is the case with Rodin's sculptural works for instance. Rather the works create *sites* that resemble what James Mayer terms "the functional site." He writes:

[The functional site] is a process, an operation occurring between sites, a mapping of institutional and discursive filliations and the bodies that move between them. It is an informational site, a locus of overlapping texts ... it is a temporary thing; a movement; a chain of meanings devoid of a particular focus.¹⁶²

Lewis' four Lenin statues, while each is situated more or less in a relation to particular objects or 'sites' – two monuments, a museum and a geographical site of two nations - produce a range of non-material 'discursive sites'. Here the object and its site-specificity reflect a shift from earlier site specific work where a "site is defined as a *precondition*" to that of "cultural debates, theoretical concepts, a social issue, a political problem, an institutional framework, an historic condition, even particular formations of desire, are now deemed to function as sites."¹⁶³

I would define the 'sites' present in *What is to be Done?* as a series of 'historic moments' that bring into the work its discursive framework composed of multiple narratives and contains therein Benjamin's archaeological process of allegorically reading the present through the past by way of constructing dialectical images. To this, I would note that Mieke Bal's socio-semiotic delineation of an artwork's intertextuality offers a useful complement to the Benjaminian motifs. For Bal, the work of art is composed of three systematic relationships. The first is with the present context or the literary and artistic environment, the second with the historical content that frames it and the third relationship is with the preceding artistic tradition – the pretext, the post-text and the after life of the object as it is.¹⁶⁴ Consequently, as a work that reflects the concurrent sociological and critical approach to artistic production, the present historical context of *What is to be Done?* must first be examined. The first 'historic moment' referenced by Lewis' re-scaled

¹⁶² James Meyer quoted in Kwon, *October*, 80. 95.

¹⁶³ Kwon, 92-93.

¹⁶⁴ This summary is from Michael Ann Holly's reading of Mieke Bal in *Past Looking: Historical Imagination and the Rhetoric of the Image* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 14.

Lenin is the manner in which statues of Lenin (one of many monumentalised communist heroes) met their end in the Eastern Bloc revolutions at the end of the 1980s and early 1990s. Though constituted in the historic present, these events were but a return echoing the many ‘endings’ of monuments throughout history. Thus, the archaeological dimension of *What is to be Done?* illustrates Benjamin’s archeo-historical maxim in his “Theses on the Philosophy of History.” Lewis summarises, “[for Benjamin] the past claims the present, while this very claim is dependent upon the redemption of the past by the present, as a sign that is making the claim.”¹⁶⁵ This oscillation, a reciprocal recognition beyond the temporal injunctions of chronological history is strategically addressed in this work as in Lewis’ other monument works and, as Chapter 3 will discuss, is evident in his cinema work *Two Impossible Films*.

In the aftermath of revolutions, citizens carry out demonstrative iconoclastic action against the symbolic representations of the outgoing regime removed from power. In the wake of collapsing Communist governments during the years of 1989 to 1991, Western television cameras gleefully captured images of surging crowds toppling the icons of Russian Communism: representations of Lenin, Stalin, etc. were met by mobs intent on taking revenge upon these symbols. These once larger-than-life figures, inflated by propaganda and driven into the public and private consciousness, now lay broken at the feet of a public whose respect for the mandarins behind these symbols had long since ended. These icons had overstayed their welcome. This historical present – the collapse of Eastern bloc - was, in typical fashion, monumentalised in the Western media as an ‘event’ in itself de-contextualized from history, and for many in Western capitalist nations, represented a veritable ‘end of history’ - the end of Marxism, Lenin, and state

¹⁶⁵ Mark Lewis, *C Magazine* # 12, (1986), 24. Benjamin has stated: “The past carries with it a temporal index by which it is referred to redemption. There is a secret agreement between past generations and the present one. Our coming was expected on earth.” in “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” in Hannah Arendt, ed. *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968).

Socialism - the inevitable 'dawning of good.'¹⁶⁶ This perspective is emphatically argued in Francis Fukuyama's 1993 book *The End of History and the Last Man*, a work Jacques Derrida has defined as neo-evangelistic rhetoric in the form of a "Gospel."¹⁶⁷ Fukuyama writes:

We have become so accustomed by now to expect that the future will contain bad news with respect to the health and security of decent, democratic political practices that we have problems recognising *good news* when it comes. And yet, the *good news* has come."¹⁶⁸

This 'good news,' proclaimed as a common consensus at the time by citizens of the former 'East' and of the 'West,' spoke of an end but also connoted a call to forget an era, particular its ideology, and thus write off the socialist 'experience' (or as many commentators now term it – the socialist experiment) as a demonstrative example of its own impossibility. As these comments imply (if not consciously admit), a particular Hegelianism was most certainly informing much of the reading of the turn of events in the former Soviet Bloc. Contemporaneous to Lewis' work, an example of this Hegelian aesthetic can be found in two ironic approaches to the past. Firstly, Vaclav Havel's government proposal for the monuments of the former socialist Czechoslovakia in the wake of the 'Velvet Revolution,' explicitly demonstrating Benjamin's concern regarding the conflation of natural history with progress. Noting the fate of monuments in prior revolutions in Europe, the government proposed that, instead of the demolition or placement of monuments within a museum as cultural objects, the socialist realist monuments should be placed undamaged within a natural forest where the foliage would eventually grow around and cover them - subsuming them into nature.¹⁶⁹ Similarly, on the outskirts of Budapest a

¹⁶⁶ I am not suggesting capitalism operating within modernism represents the only adherence to determinist thought. For as Isaiah Berlin notes Hegel's historical process, as was Marx's, were informed by the belief those societies "are part and parcel of a wider nature, which Hegel saw as spiritual, and Marx as material. For both, the crucial moments of historical advance always take the form of violent, cataclysmic leaps and destructive revolutions that establish new orders upon the ruins of the old." See Isaiah Berlin, *Historical Inevitability* (New York, Toronto, London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 22.

¹⁶⁷ Fukuyama's book originated from an earlier essay in 1989 entitled "The End of History?" See Francis Fukuyama *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: New York Free Press, 1992). See Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York, London: Routledge, 1994), 56 -58.

¹⁶⁸ Fukuyama quoted in Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 60-61.

¹⁶⁹ Mark Lewis, "What is to be Done" *Parachute* 61, (Jan, Feb, March, 1991) n. 21, 36.

forty-hectare public ‘museum’ park inaugurated June 27, 1993 within which forty monuments and a dozen commemorative plaques of the old regime were placed to mark the memory of the forty years of socialist control.¹⁷⁰ Such a motif of linking history, politics and nature had been critiqued in John Heartfield’s photomontage “Deutsche Naturgeschichte” (German Natural History) of 1934 (Fig. 15).¹⁷¹ The Czech proposal is a remarkable example of the metaphor of natural history. Here, we may recall Theodor Adorno’s telling comment about nature and history:

...the moments of nature and history do not disappear into each other, but break simultaneously out of each other and cross each other in such a way that what is natural emerges as a sign for history, and history, where it appears most historical, appears as a sign for nature.¹⁷²

In one of Lewis’ early theoretical essays entitled “If the Price is Right,” he offers an optimistic reading of critical theory and its intervention against the practice of natural history. Lewis writes:

This critical disposition with regards to history means that the “end of history” presumed by the “triumphant progress” of historicism no longer haunts critical attempts to make sense of the complex histories that figure our own relationships with/in the cultural past and present.¹⁷³

To this observation he adds:

This recasting of history radically precludes any suggestions of a restorative program, for it is no longer possible within this formulation to entertain the unmediated relationship with the past that the restorative program presupposes. The question of ‘what is wanted from art now’ turns out to be overdetermined by our sense of the historical investment that we as subjects have in and through our various cultural formations.¹⁷⁴

However, to wrest the idea of a historical present as a moment that seeks to consciously represent a natural progression of history - a culmination of a march of history - Lewis’ piece furthers the

¹⁷⁰ Article from *Le Monde* quoted in Régine Robin, “Requiem for a Toppled Statue: History as Kitsch and Remake” in *Queues, Rendezvous, Riots: Questioning the Public in Art and Architecture*, George Baird and Mark Lewis eds. Exhibition Catalogue, (Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery Banff Centre for the Arts, 1994), 82-83.

¹⁷¹ See Susan Buck-Morss’ discussion in *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge, Mass. London: MIT Press, 1995), 60-61.

¹⁷² Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno quoted in Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, 59. Originally cited in Theodor W. Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 1: *Philosophische Frühschriften*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1973), 360-361.

¹⁷³ Mark Lewis, “If the Price is Right” *C Magazine* # 12 (1986), 25.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

archaeological mode in which, like Wodiczko's, juxtaposing the site of the above narrative of the present against specific historical moments of the past. Parallel to the commentary of the current geo-political situation, the allegorical dimension of the work is further announced in the title Lewis chose for the piece. The title *What is to be Done?* recalls Lenin's manifesto written in 1910, which primarily focused on the question of direction to be followed by Marxist political theory. Furthermore, this title is but a repetition that has haunted European history and the art world itself. The revolutionary Russian writer Nikolai G. Chernyshevskii (1828-1889), as an active proponent for social and political change in the mid-1800's completed a novel while in prison titled '*Chto delat*', (translated by B.R. Tucker as *What is to be Done?*). Published in *Contemporary* (Sovremennik) in 1863, a journal to which he had contributed prior to his arrest for promoting anti-government ideas, the novel solicited and encouraged citizens interest in changing the restrictive cultural and political traditions of Russian society. The painter Ilia Repin wrote, "*What is to be Done?* fired the minds of a whole generation; it was read with passion, in tattered, printed, or hand-written copies, and preserved, together with other prohibited literature and pictures of the politicals"¹⁷⁵ Additionally, the title "*What is to be Done?*" reappears as the name of a 1968 work by the German artist Joseph Beuys. Thus, as we can see, this title continually returns as an ongoing question in various forms – literature, political treatise, and artwork. With the recuperated title, Lewis' work is an appropriation of earlier moments of crisis within history and thus functions as a question mark within the present socio-political shift. Therefore, Lewis' manoeuvre of a geographic dislocation of the image of Lenin is an act of shaking out a broken history in order to re-evaluate the role and place of monuments within the liminal moment of the present – a 'between-time' of history susceptible to the myth of the 'end of history.'

¹⁷⁵ See Allison Hilton's discussion titled, "The Revolutionary Theme in Russian Realism" in *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics*, Henry A. Milton, Linda Nochlin eds. (Cambridge, Mass., London: The MIT Press, 1978), 108.

For the passer-by encountering one of the four Lenin statues of *What is to be Done?* - whether facing Felix Leclerc's statue in Parc LaFontaine in Montréal, facing the United States on the shore of lake Ontario in Toronto, or grounded on a street sidewalk in Oxford, England - of considerable importance to the meaning of the work is the relation, or perhaps, the statue's severed relationship to the original site of the full-size Lenin monument in Bucharest. This transposition, on one hand a minimal gesture in appearance to the casual observer who may encounter the work in Western cities hosting the 'lost Lenin,' represents its critical armature. Here, Lewis' use of spatio-temporal montage performs in a manner not unlike the technique found in Wodiczko's projections and Asher's untitled Art Institute work involving the statue of Washington. Thus, as a counter-monument, the transgressive role of this work can be understood to reside in the apparent citation it proposes between the former socialist East and the seemingly 'neutral' sites in which the statues were located. With the use of an image of Lenin, Lewis has employed a symbol of communism and hence, an overt symbol of ideology. Throughout the Cold War, the image of Lenin in the West (as it was no doubt to many in the East) stood as an example of the ability of representation to function as a total symbol, wherein its image of a person was understood to wholly representative of the face of 'ideology' itself. Thus situated, *What is to be Done?* exemplifies the principles of Benjamin's concern with the dialectical image that is empowered through the principle of montage. Describing Benjamin's dialectical image Peter Osborne writes, "Benjamin's dialectical images are constellations of the 'then' and the 'now', which, in the hermetic enclosure of their internal relations, mirror the structure of history as a whole, viewed from the its end."¹⁷⁶ By its geographic dislocation, the physical juxtaposition to other 'sites' such as a monument, museum and nation, the previously apparent totality or unity of meaning held by the Western sites is rendered problematic. As we can see in the work of John

¹⁷⁶ Peter Osborne paraphrasing Benjamin in "Small-scale Victories, Large-scale Defeats" in Andrew Benjamin and Peter Osborne, eds. *Walter Benjamin's Philosophy: Destruction and Experience* (London, New York: Routledge, 1994), 87.

Heartfield or Hannah Hoch, the use of allegory targets the ‘referent’ and in transgressing it critically exposes the contradiction of meanings within.¹⁷⁷

Within the context of the aforementioned ‘end of history’, the images of Lenin among others of the Soviet empire, are the remainders of the passing of communism. As Derrida notes, all manner of energies are being raised to exorcise the ghost of Lenin and to finalise and write an end to history. In Lewis’ essay of the same name as his public art project “What is to be Done?,” he notes that the removal of the Lenin in Piatia Scinteli is more properly the removal of a *certain image*. Noting a surprising photograph of a Orthodox cleric holding up a cross in the background while in the foreground the statue of Lenin is in the process of being removed by crane, Lewis writes, “the cleric wishes to avert our gaze from the work of art, a work made from bronze – one that figuratively depicts and represents in rather complex configurations, a man, a political leader, an ideology, a liberation, a tyranny, and, very significantly, an absence.”¹⁷⁸ The actions of the cleric to divert the gaze from the statue is emblematic of what Régine Robin terms the “delete” phenomenon, whereby the historical present seeks to be reset to that of an earlier time.¹⁷⁹

Offering a distinctly dystopian perspective on this topic, Baudrillard writes:

We are in the process of wiping out the whole of the twentieth century. We are wiping out all signs of the Cold War one by one, perhaps even all signs of World War II and those of all the century’s political and ideological revolutions. The reunification of Germany and many other things are inevitable, not in the sense of a leap forward of History but in the sense of a reverse rewriting of the whole of the twentieth century ... At our present rate, we should soon be back to the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire. Here, perhaps, is the illumination we may expect for the present *fin de siècle*, and the true meaning of the much-debated phrase “the end of History.”¹⁸⁰

Thus, with the re-deployment of two selected histories, Lewis’ work displaces the myth of the present as a final point of modernity - the inevitable success of capitalist energies. Evidently, the

¹⁷⁷ See for example John Heartfield’s photomontage “*German Natural History*” in which he super-imposes the faces of German leaders on moth larva to make the comment on Germany’s belief of its own evolution as a naturally unfolding history.

¹⁷⁸ Mark Lewis, “What is to be Done,” *Parachute*, 61. (Jan, Feb, March, 1991), 29.

¹⁷⁹ Régine Robin, “Requiem for a Toppled Statue: History as Kitsch and Remake” 89..

¹⁸⁰ Jean Baudrillard cited in Régine Robin, 81.

work metaphorically re-introduces the very question announced in the title suggesting uncertainty in contrast to the jubilant positivism announced by Fukuyama regarding this ‘end of history.’ By Lewis’ own account, he has consciously sought to address the question and role of endings within art and culture:

...it seems to me that I have always been interested in things that seem a little stale, things in decline. For instance, my engagement with the public monument was precisely an interest in its, “after life,” what it literally produces in its decline and fall, and not necessarily in the object itself ... think of the case of the ex-USSR and the Eastern Block, when the monuments to communism were pulled down. What was interesting, I think, was what their death (already announced two hundred years before the first modern revolution) produced.¹⁸¹

As such, Lewis’ use of a monument form foreign to the public landscape of the West brings attention to the dualistic role of monuments demonstrating that markers of social space on one hand reflect the myth of a coherent continuous ideological history, yet, by virtue of its transposition from its ‘origin’, the Lenin work testifies that monuments inevitably are subject to destruction, and as such, are thus understood to represent the myth of the ‘end of history.’ In thinking about Lewis’ work, it gives witness to how the monument forms are continually transformed from their original purposes. In Benjamin’s discussion of the Egyptian obelisk in the Place de la Concorde in Paris he writes:

What was carved in it four thousand years ago today stands at the centre in the greatest of city squares. Had it been foretold to him – what a triumph for the Pharaoh! The foremost Western cultural empire will one day bear at its centre the memorial of his rule.¹⁸²

While in the *Work of Art* essay, he notes, “An ancient statue of Venus, for example, stood in a different traditional context with the Greeks, who made it an object of veneration, than with the clerics of the Middle Ages, who viewed it as an ominous idol.”¹⁸³ It is apparent here, that Benjamin understood that works of art or cultural symbols shift in meaning and value due to the

¹⁸¹ Mark Lewis, “Some Sense of an End” in *Sur l’expérience de la ville. Interventions en milieu urbain*. exhibition catalogue, (Montréal: Optica Centre d’art Contemporain, ABC Livres d’art Canada, 1999), 141.

¹⁸² Walter Benjamin, *One Way Street and Other Writings*, trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter, Introduction by Susan Sontag. (London: Verso, 1985), 70.

¹⁸³ Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 223

particular ideals of the surrounding cultural and political forces. Thus, Lewis' interest in the 'afterlife' of an object or image echoes Benjamin's concern with the ways in which objects or ideas remain in 'traces' or 'hauntings,' but also that of Derrida's notion of the 'ghost.' - a subject he discusses with Lewis' in an interview conducted in 1989.¹⁸⁴ Rather than reading the present as merely the 'end' of this socialist history, *What is to be Done?*, through its montage, introduces the site of the 'historic present' as one that demands reflection on the position of communism as 'other' – a trace or a *spectre* within Western history.

In Derrida's, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, published in English in 1994, the question of what is to become of Marxism, communism and socialist ideology in the new post-communist era is raised as a intellectual, political and historical crisis. For Derrida, the newly self-acclaimed triumph of global market forces with its sweeping claim of an 'end of history' is not only a careless misreading of the contemporary situation, it is most importantly an abandonment of responsibility, and is thus ethically suspect. He writes:

A time of the world, today, in these times, a new "world order" seeks to stabilise a new, necessarily new disturbance [*dérèglement*] by installing an unprecedented form of hegemony. It is matter, then, but as always, of a novel form of war. It at least resembles a great "conjunction" against Marxism, a "conjurement" of Marxism: once again, another attempt, a new, always new mobilisation to struggle against it, against that which and those whom it represents and will continue to represent (the idea of a New International), and to combat an International by exorcising it.¹⁸⁵

Of importance for Derrida in *Specters of Marx*, is Marx's first line of *The Communist Manifesto* where he describes communism, as a presence not yet materialised but already infiltrating Europe.

A spectre is haunting Europe – the spectre of Communism. All the Powers of Old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ See Mark Lewis, "Ghost Dance: An Interview with Jacques Derrida" *Public*, no. 2, 1989, 60-66.

¹⁸⁵ Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of Debt, The Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf, (New York, London: Routledge, 1994), 7.

¹⁸⁶ Karl Marx, "Manifesto of the Communist Party" in *The Communist Manifesto: A Modern Edition* (New York, London: Verso Publishers, 1998), 31.

The term *spectre* is defined in the Oxford dictionary as a ‘ghost’ and, as a ‘haunting presentiment of preoccupation.’¹⁸⁷ Both of these meanings concisely convey, for Marx, the situation he was witnessing in the middle of the nineteenth-century. Reading Marx’s announcement of the *spectre*, Derrida notes that “the spectre is a paradoxical incorporation, the be-coming body ... [i]t becomes, rather, some “thing” that remains difficult to name: neither soul nor body, and both one and the other.”¹⁸⁸ Thus, it is for Derrida a presence that exists as a liminal entity “the tangible intangibility of a proper body without flesh, but still the body of someone as someone other... this spectral *someone looks at us*, we feel ourselves being looked at by it...”¹⁸⁹ Specters, Derrida argues, are a question of repetition and thus are always a *revenant* – the return of something/someone from the dead. As Derrida comments, “Marx seems to predict and prescribe: what for the moment figures only as a specter in the ideological representations of old Europe must become, in the future, a present reality, that is a living reality.”¹⁹⁰

Similarly, like Derrida’s claim for an understanding that there exists a number of specters of Marx which can return, *What is to be Done?* is a repetition and reference to the multiple specters of this legacy: the specters of Lenin; of ideology, the revolutionary avant-garde, and finally, the always *revenant* eschatological Hegelian specter of the end of history. Further describing the specter, Derrida explains:

The specter is the frequency of a certain visibility. But the visible of the invisible. And visibility, by its essence, is not seen ... the specter is also, among other things, what one imagines, what one thinks one sees and which one projects – on an imaginary screen where there is nothing to see.”¹⁹¹

This idea represents the additional transgression at work in *What is to be Done?*: that the history and the continual re-appearance of Marx’s legacy is always present even after it claimed to have

¹⁸⁷ See *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, ed. Della Thompson. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), ninth edition. 1336.

¹⁸⁸ Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 54.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 7.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 101.

¹⁹¹ Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 101.

passed. Lewis' siting of Lenin in the West is, therefore, a radicalisation of the present discourse in the West as it celebrated the removal of a particular 'ideology' contained within it in the belief that it symbolised the removal of *all* ideology. In the placement of the four Lenins in front of existing statues or monuments, the role of iconic images expressed through nationalism (Félix Leclerc) imperialism (the Boer War monument) and modernism's privileging of autonomous culture (Museum of Modern Art) are each put under scrutiny as ideologically motivated sites. Lastly, the Toronto Lenin whose gaze is directed to the territory of the United States, signals the 'ideological other' of Lenin and Soviet history. As such, through the presence of a now 'absent' ideology symbolised by Lenin, the work attempts to transfer the viewer's consciousness to recognize similar ideological structures, though believed to be more discrete, as nonetheless present in the West. As Benjamin declared, "historical understanding is to be viewed primarily as an afterlife of that which has been understood; and so what came to be recognised about works through the analysis of their 'afterlife', their fame, should be considered the foundation of history itself."¹⁹² Furthermore, with the flowers around the base spelling the words 'Let Everything be Temporary', the work quotes Lenin's idea for public monuments. Additionally the work transposes the recent history of the demise of the Soviet Union, as well as the action inflicted upon images of Lenin to the site of its gaze - the United States – offering the suggestion of its possible future demise similar to the Soviet empire, or perhaps the possibility of the 'American' empire absorbing the former Soviet empire.

Evidently, Lewis' four Lenin statues reflect an allegorical (and paradoxical) return revisiting the very suggestion of Lenin and Lunacharsky for the construction of monuments made of temporary non-bourgeois materials as stated in *the 'Plan for Monumental Propaganda.'* This is further noted in the flowers planted around the statue (a natural example of a temporal form) that spelled out the edict of Lenin to Lunarcharsky: "Let everything be Temporary." Lewis' work

¹⁹² Walter Benjamin quoted in Andrew Benjamin, "Time and Task" *Walter Benjamin's Philosophy*, 232.

questions representational practices in public space within all political systems. In his reading of Benjamin's analysis of urban space, Gilloch writes, "The monument is doubly mythic in its proclamation of a false history and in its proclamation of its own permanence."¹⁹³ In his reading of the conventional monument, Lewis suggests in a manner reminiscent of the monadological element favoured by Benjamin, "destructive acts are inscribed within the works as a potential from the moment that they are commissioned and publicly installed ... the works' installation and destruction share the same economy."¹⁹⁴ Thus, the removal of the monumental bronze statue of Lenin was to be expected (for such actions) is an integral part of the monument's very existence, as Daniel Hermant makes clear in his discussion regarding iconoclasm and monuments.¹⁹⁵

Through my discussion in this chapter, I have sought to demonstrate how the critical perspectives of counter-monument practices re-evaluate the narrative of public representations of power through monument forms. In presenting Lewis' *What is to be Done?* as emblematic of these concerns, I have examined a work that has had relatively scarce attention in contemporary discussions of public space and counter-monument practice. Though I have only touched upon the theoretical concepts informing readings of public space and counter-monument practices, I have made an explicit attempt to contextualize Lewis' work within the specific cultural shift that occurred with the ending of Socialist states in Europe and to locate their historical, artistic and political effect within the West. Placed within public space, the works' multiple discursive 'sites' - both present and historic - succinctly encapsulate the climatic events of the twentieth-century. Given the growth in the last decade of numerous artistic practices in Canada situated in public space as 'intervention' works, Lewis' *What is to be Done?* exemplifies a rare precision in its timeliness and relevance of a subject because, as the years hence have indicated, the dissolution of the Soviet Bloc has politically and culturally shifted the global order in a truly radical manner.

¹⁹³ Gilloch, 72.

¹⁹⁴ Mark Lewis, "What is to be Done," *Parachute* 61. (Jan, Feb, March, 1991), 30.

¹⁹⁵ See Daniel Hermant, "Destruction and Vandalism during the French Revolution," in *Queues, Rendezvous, Riots: Questioning the Public in Art and Architecture*, 107-128.

3. Mark Lewis' *Two Impossible Films*: Cinema as an Immaterial Counter-Monument

As I have discussed in the preceding chapter, the impetus of Lewis's work rests in the operation of locating and investigating the interstitial moments in which monuments are between histories and often removed from original sites; their first life having passed they now wait for a second staging. In this chapter, I discuss the third and present phase of Lewis' oeuvre, which is demarcated by a change in medium from his previous work that investigated the role of conventional monuments.

From 1995 to the present, Lewis has employed the moving image as the principal medium in which he works. Though using very different forms, I believe Lewis' concerns about the role of public representations of ideology, the avant-garde, and notion of the 'end of history' is carried over from his sculptural counter-monument work *What is to be Done?* into his 1995 diptych film *Two Impossible Films*.

In this work, Lewis reflects upon two luminary figures in early twentieth-century film - Sergei Eisenstein and Samuel Goldwyn and their respective unrealised film projects *Das Kapital* and *The Story of Psychoanalysis*. It is my position that *Two Impossible Films* conceptually foregrounds the moving image as the pre-eminent form of communication in modernity, specifically, cinema's role as a modern form of the monument that operates as an iconic mode of writing history within a re-configured site of public space. In response to this history, Lewis' focus on these two 'cinematic moments' critically calls into question cinema's practice of adapting grand narratives to historicize heroic figures and events. This is achieved by the manner in which *Two Impossible Films* is constructed, notably its refusal to provide a defined narrative structure faithful or interpretative of Freud and Marx's texts. By highlighting and bringing together this history of Goldwyn and Eisenstein's intended film translations of *Das Kapital* and the *Story of Psychoanalysis* - two cultural monuments of modernity - Lewis recalls cinema's role within the conflictual socio-political values between the East and the West that structured much

of the twentieth-century. In quoting these two differing productive histories of film form - the revolutionary and explicitly politically charged Soviet model that relied upon non-sequential editing, montage and visual shock versus the seamless continuity editing privileged in narrative-based classic Hollywood production, the work allegorically addresses the status of each example as ideological and political sites. In other words, I would argue that these two forms of cinema existed as a deterritorialized form of the monument. Similar to his project *What is to be Done?*, the socio-historical framework Lewis gathers into the present work strategically comments upon the current ideological and cultural climate in the West following the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Bloc.

To situate and complement the above concerns, I examine the film's strategies as reflective of current cinema-based gallery work such as the revisiting of cinema's history, the notion of the 'remake', the network of cinema, and the city. In sum, I believe *Two Impossible Films* exhibits strategies that place it as a counter-monument work in which it comments upon cinema's function as a twentieth-century monument as well as to that of specific artistic and socio-political histories. However, I first present the history pertaining to the two cinematic histories referenced within Lewis' *Two Impossible Films*, to be followed by an outline of the film work.

After completing his film *October*, Eisenstein started to plan a film adaptation of Marx's magnum opus *Das Kapital: Kritik der politisehen Oekonomie* (1867). However, due to the growing political restrictions on artistic production in Russia in the early years of the Stalin era, Stalin himself reportedly curtailed Eisenstein's plan, and it only remains as a few pages of notes.¹⁹⁶ Regarding this, Charles Esche suggests that the reason behind Stalin's action in stopping the project may have been that "a popular exegesis of Marx might not have shown [Stalin's] economic plans in a good light."¹⁹⁷ Whatever the reasons, the film never saw production.

¹⁹⁶ See Sergei Eisenstein, "Notes for a film of Capital" trans. Maciej J. Sliwowski, Jay Leyda and Annette Michelson, *October* 2 (1976), 3-26.

¹⁹⁷ Charles Esche, "Mark Lewis Films 1995-2000" in *Mark Lewis Films 1995-2000*, exhibition catalogue, (London: Film and Video Umbrella, 2000), 29.

Interested in this unrealised cinematic moment, Lewis researched the history of Eisenstein's plans, initially with the idea of attempting to actually make a full feature film adaptation of *Das Kapital*. However, upon realising the complexity at hand - the lack of actual footage, script and storyline, he changed his approach. During this period of research, Lewis also came across the story of Samuel Goldwyn's visit to Vienna in the 1920's to ask Sigmund Freud to write a screenplay for a love story – 'to get the greatest love story from the world's most famous doctor of love' as Goldwyn later recounted.¹⁹⁸ However, Freud refused to consider a meeting with Goldwyn at his hotel and wired a message informing him he should go back to America. Lewis may well have got the idea from an article by Felix Guattari published in 1975 in the widely read journal *Communications* No. 23: *psychanalyse et cinéma*. Entitled "Le divan du pauvre" it begins: "Les appels du pied du cinéma à la psychanalyse ont été innombrables, à commencer par la proposition de M. Goldwyn à Freud: 100 000 dollars pour traiter des amours célèbres!"¹⁹⁹ It is from these two unrealised histories that *Two Impossible Films* is based.

Created in 1995, Lewis' *Two Impossible Films* is a 35mm colour film produced in cinemascope with stereo sound running 28 minutes in length. As the title implies, it consists of two films, or more accurately, two filmic 'segments.' The first segment is titled *The Story of Psychoanalysis*, running 13 minutes in length, while the second segment entitled *Das Kapital*, is 14 minutes in length. Depending on the venue, the work is either shown as a 35mm projected film within a traditional cinema setting, utilising a full size movie theatre screen, or installed in a gallery space using a DVD format that is looped and projected onto smaller screens or shown on video monitors. When located in gallery settings, the looped construction of the film does not have a prescribed starting point, and unlike traditional cinematic display practices, where the spectator is subsumed into a darkened theatre, the lights in these spaces they are dimmed only

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 29

¹⁹⁹ Felix Guattari, "Le divan du pauvre" in *Communications: psychanalyse et cinéma*, no. 23. eds. R. Bellour, Thierry Kuntzel, Christian Metz, (Paris: Seuil, 1975), 96.

somewhat. Unlike some contemporary film-based work produced by artists such as Janet Cardiff or Pierre Huyghe, Lewis does not provide any form of seating for the viewer. Accompanying the film, Lewis has mounted on the gallery walls colour photographic prints of individual shots or scenes from the film work (Fig. 9). Further extrapolating elements that comprise the making of a film work, the walls of the gallery are stencilled with the list of credits found at the end of the *Two Impossible Films*.

The production values of both film segments are of extremely high quality, and thus resemble large-budget feature films. Furthermore, the actual process involved in the making of Lewis' work was comprised of a full production team and cast as one would find on a feature film production shoot, including professional cinema lighting, sound, and technical crews. Yet ironically, the work is not constructed using traditional cinematic narrative techniques. In fact, the two films only hint at the possibility of a storyline for each is primarily composed of a sequence of opening and closing credits. The opening credits are overlaid, as in a real feature film – the credits roll as the narrative develops – except Lewis pre-empted or interrupts the development with intertitles thus creating a seemingly random series of scenes. As Catherine Pavlovic notes, the very inspiration of the work – Marx's *Das Kapital* and *The Story of Psychoanalysis* (The complete works of Sigmund Freud) are not in any manner novelistic in form.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, if one is to read Eisenstein's "Notes for a film of *Capital*,"²⁰¹ it is evident the rudimentary stage of the work's development offers nothing resembling a narrative either in textual or visual form.

While the film work titled *The Story of Psychoanalysis* is a reference to only an idea as Esche notes, for no remaining written documentation of potential concepts and directions regarding its

²⁰⁰ Catherine Pavlovic, "Notes on Some Impossible Films" in *Mark Lewis Films 1995-2000*, exhibition catalogue. (London: Film and Video Umbrella.), 42.

²⁰¹ For the translated notes and thoughts of Eisenstein on his idea of adapting *Das Kapital* to screen, see Sergei Eisenstein, "Notes for a Film of Capital" in *October*, 2 (Summer 1976), 25-6.

creation exist.²⁰² As is well known, several of Freud's essays such as "The Relation of the Poet to Daydreaming," "Phantasy-making and Art" and "Symbolism in Dreams," were concerned with the unconscious role of dreams. Considering this, the siting and visual construction of the work transports the issue of the public monument and space as circumscribed by the theories of Freud on both a theoretical and experiential manner.

In both films, Lewis has created an identical series of opening frames that mimic the introductory shots found in feature films that display the name of the production and distribution companies. The opening image in each is a low-angle ground shot towards a steel electrical or transmission tower and placed on top of the tower is a large revolving letter 'W.' The words "Impossible Films" appear on the screen image. The following scene is of a large object sheathed in white fabric that dramatically slides off to reveal a bust mounted on a pedestal and accompanied by the appearance of the words 'Monumental Pictures' across the screen. Clearly, the style and structure of this sequence is evocative of openings produced by both Hollywood feature films or trailers and epic films produced in the Eastern block. The segment entitled *The Story of Psychoanalysis* (Fig. 16) opens with the intertitle:

"I do not intend to see Mr. Goldwyn."
Telegram sent by Sigmund Freud
to Samuel Goldwyn's hotel room in Vienna
January 3, 1925.

This is followed a series of film credit titles which read: A monumental film production in collaboration with the le Musée d'art Contemporain de Montréal; Tramway, Glasgow; The Morris and Helen Belkin Gallery, Vancouver. What is most striking, are the series of visual images in the work are taken from the vantage point of a fixed single camera positioned on the ground in a somewhat forlorn looking public park. On the right of the screen we see situated in the park what resembles a much-reduced version of Michelangelo's *David* with its back turned to the viewer. Through the fixed camera position, the viewer appears to be observing the objective

²⁰² See Charles Esche, *Mark Lewis Films 1995-2000*, 29.

recording of random activities that occur in the park over a period from dawn to dusk. As such, the structure of the work is reminiscent of early single-reel films where people either walk into the distance out of sight or forward towards the viewer's picture plane. However, Lewis uses dissolves to edit shots together depicting people fade in and out of sight as they enter, cross and exit the park portrayed on the screen. As if testifying to the democratic and public siting of the park, the characters depicted include a homeless person, park cleaners sweeping up trash, people walking to work, a policeman who questions a person on the park bench, a couple having a picnic, kids with parents and two men on bicycles who meet and agree to meet later on "the corner." The last shot in this sequence is the park after nightfall into which a man and a woman (presumably a prostitute) enter. She says, "I don't care how much you are paying, no glove – no love," after which they go partly behind a tree and engage in a sex act. The screen then fades to black and the following sequence of intertitles appears: *Story Development*, *Dramatic Conflict*, *Temporary Resolution* and *Roll end credits*. Cued by the last title, we then see a full feature length film end credit list. In it, Lewis has listed credits of actors and production crew involved in the film actually viewed, as well as those of actors and production unit crew members in Vienna of a work suggested by work's title but not seen. Quite obviously, this work bears no resemblance to what might be expected. Ironically however, it is in the end credits that list the actors and sites in relation to specific events and scenes within the unrealised work that a narrative storyline is found. Throughout the random activities in the park, there is both intermittent dialogue and music – the latter a section of J. S. Bach's suite concerto no. 6 in G. followed the song "Everyday" by the group Slade during the end credits.

Somewhat more complex visually than *The Story of Psychoanalysis*, the segment titled *Das Kapital* in *Two Impossible Films* similarly dispenses with an obvious and expected storyline, setting and structure. Provisionally, I would describe *Das Kapital* as composed of three somewhat distinct structural elements within its construction. First, the foregrounding of two modes of shot construction – montage and continuity editing and, secondly, the removal of a clear

sequential narrative development; thirdly, the emphasis of *paratextual* components within film — opening credits/closing credits. Opening *Das Kapital* is a quote by Abbé Parée that metaphorically announces the city as a site of capital. It reads:

What a sight for the traveller! Let us imagine it now. From afar, I spy the city: its towers, whose points disappear into the sky, inform me of its religion. Further along, I make out its ramparts, which show me its protective forces. Then approaching the city, I see its buildings, which tell me about its size, its commerce, its riches, its taste. There I am sure to find the living, for I know that the dead are all within the expansive confines of those funerary buildings I noticed along the way.

The opening image presents an upside down panoramic long shot of the city of Vancouver set against the coastal mountains which divide the screen in two with the blue waters of English Bay on the upper half of the screen and the sky in the lower half. The camera pans across the vista three times with the accompaniment of sombre classical music beginning on the second pan. As the camera pans for the third time displaying this strange bifurcation, white letters appear on the horizon below the mountains and the camera begins a dizzying spin that rights the image. Simultaneously, the letters grow larger, revealing the upside down word ‘Das Kapital’ and then flip right side up stopping on the screen over the image of two people playing chess in the background, while nearer to the camera we see a close up of a man’s head, which in fact is Lewis himself setting up a camera. This ends the opening sequence for the film. In the next sequence of the film, the camera turns to capture a woman stretching as she prepares to go jogging. A series of plaques fixed to a concrete sea wall appear behind her. As she starts her run with the backdrop of Vancouver’s skyline, the camera focuses sequentially on five plaques. Each respectively contains the following text: “Minerals and Petroleum Products”, “Agricultural Products”, “Whaling”, “Container Cargo”, and “Forestry Products”. Accompanying this sequence is the voice of the art historian John O’Brian stating:

The chimeric city feeds off the economy of the resource-based industry as a place that watches and computes their production and revenue and wishes them invisible to the cities gaze.

Following this, the film cuts to an aerial shot from a helicopter capturing the numerous condominium and office towers within Vancouver's urban centre juxtaposed against the natural beauty of the mountains and ocean. In the sequences that make up the rest of the film, Lewis clearly highlights two formal methods of shot construction: montage shots mimetic of Eisenstein's work and continuity editing as found in classical Hollywood film. Two fragments of an apparent narrative storyline are suggested through the work through an allusion to real estate and market development and, countering this, the remains of Marx's legacy, socialism and its relation to the avant-garde, art production and academia. The latter is indicated with scenes of University of British Columbia's campus and an academic lecture led by the art historian John O'Brian who is a professor at the school. The lecture by O'Brian discusses Vancouver as a postmodern city quoting from Derrida's *Specters of Marx* text, while in the audience we see the artist Jeff Wall, Mark Lewis and Lewis's gallery representative/dealer Patrick Painter. Clearly, Lewis situates art discourse and production within the two socio-political histories of the twentieth-century capital market forces and socialist cultural theory. Intercut into this are shots portraying businessmen poring over architectural blueprints inside a huge clerestory glass walled building tower as John O'Brian begins reading his lecture with the following statement:

The touristic fixation of Vancouver as chimera functions to blind the visitor just as it functions to blind the permanent inhabitants of the city itself, it hides more than it reveals, it renders invisible.

Following the lecture, a shot returns to show the businessmen in the glass walled tower in which we see two men walk across the screen and off camera, after which we hear the sound of two gunshot-like reports, after which the camera zooms in on a pair of broken eyeglasses and spilt coffee on the blueprints. The next shot shows a car pulling up into a vacant industrial lot and stopping. Though it is not shown, we hear the sound of a car door opening and a thud of a heavy object- perhaps a body landing on the ground. A series of rapid montage shots of the industrial site follow and then the camera focuses on a billboard on the roof of a warehouse building that at the start of the film was blank, but now reads "Richmond Memorial Cemetery." This is

succeeded by a sequence of four intertitles: Story Development, Dramatic Conflict, Temporary Resolution, Fade-up From Black. The film cuts to an aerial shot and we see two figures in a parking lot - the man and woman we originally saw at the terrace table. Faintly we hear the man exclaim, "you are living in the past" to which her response is inaudible, he then retorts, "what are you - a bloody communist?" The shot dissolves to an aerial helicopter shot again depicting a series of panoramic shots of the Vancouver skyline. The triumphant choral music starts again. As the camera pans out over English Bay glowing in the sunset, a foghorn sounds and huge letters fill the screen stating -- The End. Following this, closing credits appear accompanied by songs by P. J. Harvey and Ray Charles. The first credit states, "Dedicated to a New International." The film ends with a cast list that includes film crewmembers, real and fictitious actors and the words: "Filmed on location in Vancouver, Canada and Moscow, Russia."

From the theatre to the gallery space.

To expand my discussion somewhat, not only is the question of the subjects referenced within *Two Impossible Films* crucial - a topic to be examined a bit further on in this discussion - but firstly, I believe it necessary to pose the question as to *why* we are witnessing a paradigm shift within art production whereby the tangible materiality of art works within museums is replaced with the immaterial contingencies offered by film. Secondly, what are the theoretical intersections informing works based on film? Constituting different potentialities of a discursive public space - one that is sufficiently at odds with classical Hollywood film and contemporary independent film, yet profoundly effected by past and present technological developments - the emergence of cinematic strategies within the gallery space reframe cinematic history from a vantage point outside of the now-established enterprises of film studies and cinema production. Here, the physical 'site' of cinema-based gallery works exemplified by *Two Impossible Films* more closely resembles some of the issues of placement and location informing the practices of 'site-specificity' found in the public counter-monument described in Chapter 2. From this a number of inquiries are made manifest.

Writing in the catalogue for *Cinema, Cinema: Contemporary Art and the Cinematic*

Experience, an exhibition held in 1999 at the Stedelijk Van Abbemuseum, Jaap Guldemon and Marente Bloemheuval offer the following analysis of the growth of cinema based practices and the growing reception for their display in exhibition spaces:

The reason for this fascination (for the phenomena of cinema) can be found in the current omnipresence of cinema. This includes not only multiplex movie theatres, video shops and the constant appearance of films on television, but also, for example, the use of a cinematic grammar in contemporary advertising and video-clips. The explosive growth of video shops in the '70's and '80's meant not only that hundreds of films became directly available, but also that the possibility existed to study and manipulate movies art home on one's own video recorder, with the help of functions like rewind, fast forward and slow motion.²⁰³

Here, Guldemon's and Bloemheuval's assertion speaks of the culmination of film-based technologies founded in the nineteenth-century within the digital age as a virtual heterotopic presence that has infiltrated contemporary life. Taking a more philosophical and art-historical approach, Olivier Asselin suggests that with the weakening of the hegemony of literature and aesthetic discourses espousing purity of form, contemporary arts have embraced interdisciplinarity of mediums. In addition, within the history of contemporary art, notably Pop Art, cinematic references have been explicitly incorporated, particularly in reference to the mechanical or industrial reproducibility of the cinematographic form.²⁰⁴ Furthermore, the work of photo-based artists such as Jeff Wall in the 1970s and 1980s presented 'interrupted narrative' images that are, as Asselin notes, common motifs borrowed from cinema and displayed mounted in back-lit light boxes exemplifying the influence of the moving image.²⁰⁵ Discussing current cinema based art in the gallery, Chris Deacon observes that many young artists are responding to existing forms of mimesis in cinema itself, and that this is becoming explicitly recognisable in

²⁰³ Jaap Guldemon and Marente Bloemheuval, *Cinema, Cinema: Contemporary Art and the Cinematic Experience*, exhibition catalogue. (Eindhoven: Stedelijk Van Abbemuseum, 1999), 6.

²⁰⁴ Olivier Asselin, "Le Mirage et Le suspense: Quelques notes sur le cinématographique dans l'art contemporain" *L'Effet cinema*, exhibition catalogue. (Montréal: Musée d'art Contemporain de Montréal, 1995), 16.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

films made by visual artists who, he suggests, are developing and applying a secondary mimesis.²⁰⁶

Though film and art within the twentieth-century have shared a reciprocal history - specifically the history of modernism - contemporary artists who appropriate and explore cinematic strategies, as Deacon notes, are foregrounding and commenting upon the history of visibility, art and modernity itself as a subject. These practices - consciously or unconsciously - invoke the notion of this history as having reached an end. From an art-historical perspective, this development can be understood as an expansion from the photo-conceptual work of artists such as Richard Prince, Jeff Wall and Cindy Sherman during the 1970s and 1980s, whose self-reflexive practices address the history and role of visual imagery and production. Moreover, the paradigm shift of cinema into the gallery space is the result of broader theoretical rereading within and outside of contemporary art. Of critical importance is the poststructuralist shift within humanities and cultural production as noted in the previous chapter. Here, film studies, like the other disciplines of art production, architecture and art history, began to incorporate a broader spectrum of theoretical perspectives, moving out from the work to reference other discursive sites - politics, sociology, gender, and psychoanalysis to name a few. Discussing this transition in film studies, Thomas Elsaesser observes that these important shifts attempted “to displace, at least conceptually, the hegemony of Hollywood,” such as Noel Burch’s championing of Edwin Porter over D. W. Griffith.²⁰⁷ Not unlike T. J. Clark’s revisitation of nineteenth-century painting and its relation to the public in Courbet’s France,²⁰⁸ a re-examination of modernity that launched the ‘new art history’, Burch’s claim signalled the emergence of the “double historical moment of

²⁰⁶ Chris Deacon quoted in Mark Nash, “Art and Cinema: Some Critical Reflections” in *Documenta 11*, Platform 5., exhibition catalogue. (Osterfilden – Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2002), Originally in Chris Deacon, “Gleaning the Future from the Gallery Floor,” *Vertigo*, 12:2, spring 2002, p. 3.

²⁰⁷ Thomas Elsaesser, “Early Cinema: From Linear History to Mass Media Archaeology” in Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker, eds. *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative* (London: British Film Institute, 1990), 4.

²⁰⁸ See T.J. Clark, *The Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1973) and *The Absolute Bourgeois*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1973)

cinema between 1896 and 1917 (early cinema) and of its rediscovery in the late 1970s”²⁰⁹ in which early film’s production, construction and social reception are analysed so as to reposition the history of film that followed. Theorists such as André Gaudreault and Tom Gunning have delineated between ‘monstration’ and ‘narration’ - the latter claiming early cinema as a cinema of ‘monstration’ of ‘attractions’ where the spectator’s attention is engaged through the exhibitionist sensibility rather than by diegetic absorption as in overtly narrative films.²¹⁰ However, Gunning’s analysis is important in that he situates his two models as overlapping modes of expression. Noting that avant-garde cinema produced by Eisenstein and Kuleshov was influenced by the features of early Western and/or American cinema and pushed the development of monstration via explicit montage, Gunning argues that early narrative films such as the *Great Train Robbery* (1903) displayed both narrative continuity *and* monstration, shock *and* spectacle, *and* is reflective of a inclusionary type of film that has existed throughout modern cinema.²¹¹ Likewise, Miriam Hansen’s socio-political analyses in “Early Cinema: Whose Public Sphere?” presents a lucid re-reading of the relationship of film production and spectatorship. Focusing on the development of Wilhelmine cinema, the cinema reform movement and the female spectator, Hansen argues that early cinema provided a “social space, a place apart from the domestic and work spheres” which permitted a participatory new public sphere. A public sphere, she contends, is not only one of an empirical physical space but one created by “the film on the screen and the film in the head of the spectator.” A mode that recognised the space of the spectator disappeared with the regulatory effects of narrative based and homogenous cinematic productions and sites of display.²¹² In Jean-Louis Baudry’s essay “Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematic Apparatus” (1974-75), he

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 5.

²¹⁰ See Tom Gunning, “The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectators and the Avant-Garde” in *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, 57. Gunning takes the term ‘attractions’ from Sergei Eisenstein to permit his make a connection between early cinema and the later avant-garde practice.

²¹¹ Ibid., 61.

²¹² Miriam Hansen, “Early Cinema: Whose Public Sphere?” in *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, 233.

merged phenomenological and political analyses of film history, while Laura Mulvey's much quoted 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' of 1976 inserted a strategically feminist reading of the cinema spectatorship that greatly influenced art history, film, communication and cultural studies. For the sake of brevity, it is not possible to mention the abundance of writing that has re-read film history, however, I have selected a few key examples that have been influential on both photographic and moving image art production, and which reflect a critical shift in the approaches used to examine the form, function and practice of cinema within modernism.

However, even if not necessarily always referencing early cinema in terms of subject matter, the movement of cinema into the gallery space must be understood as concomitant with some of these debates, concepts and histories concerning early cinema, as well as those emanating from later genres of cinema. As a site of enquiry for contemporary artistic production, the cinematic shift represents both a beginning as well as an end. The notion of a beginning is announced by the widespread incursion of the moving image into exhibition spaces as well as the use of new technologies and, like the rubric of 'modernity,' twentieth-century cinema that is viewed by artists (Lewis among them) as having reached an historical end. In an interview with Stéphanie Moisdon, the Scottish artist Douglas Gordon states, "Le cinema est jeune, il n'a que cent ans, mais pour nous il est déjà mort."²¹³ It is again this very concept of an 'end' that, in fact, as Riegl discerned, re-energises the present and future discursive approaches regarding its history, production and structure.²¹⁴ Now encapsulated as a past event, having (arguably) exhausted its possibilities as a progressive coherent form, film history and its objects of production are now exposed to critical reflections from within studio art practices and art history or as Esche states, "the death of cinema makes it possible to feed on its corpse."²¹⁵ Lewis himself acknowledges such a perspective writing "[p]erhaps with the shift of cinema onto the historical stage, artists can

²¹³ Douglas Gordon cited in Raymond Bellour, *L'entre-images 2. Mots, images* (Paris, P.O. L., 1999), 268.

²¹⁴ See Riegl's reading of the monument form and its relation to endings of history p.15 this thesis.

²¹⁵ Charles Esche, *Mark Lewis Films 1995-2000*, 34.

now treat it like an object rather than a phenomenon.”²¹⁶ As is much discussed under the term postmodernism, the current climate is very much a reversal of modernism’s forward looking mantra of linear progress and, as represented in contemporary cinema-based art practice, is the juxtaposition of backward glances upon the documents of the past within the framework of present cultural perspectives. Michel Foucault, describing the intersection of history with the present, has written:

The great obsession of the nineteenth century was, as we know, history: with its themes of development and of suspension, of crisis and cycle, themes of the ever-accumulating past, with its preponderance of dead men and the menacing glasciation of the world ... The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are in the epoch of simultaneity; we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and the far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed.²¹⁷

With the history of modernism visually manifested within the cinematic, such rereading regarding of cinema’s histories have provided artists such as Stan Douglas, Douglas Gordon and Lewis himself the conceptual points of references on which they construct their work. In sum, contemporaneous to the predominance of reflective practices occurring within other mediums, the ‘cinematic’ shift within the gallery space is emblematic of discursive approaches emphasising the role of visuality and, of critical importance, the notion of modernity’s apparatuses of spectacle, consumption and ideology as a history based on the ontology of cinematic preoccupations.

Maintaining a line of argument in keeping with my discussion of *What is to be Done?*, I propose that the above mentioned histories may provide a starting point through which we can dissect the discursive cinematic ‘sites’ present in *Two Impossible Films*. Drawing on my earlier discussion of the counter-monument, firstly I will now turn to consider the actual physical siting or display of Lewis’ film within the gallery space in relation to two cinematic histories – specifically, the history of early cinema and its multiple forms of deployment, siting, and

²¹⁶ Mark Lewis, “A Sense of Disbelief: An interview with Mark Lewis by Charles Esche” in *Cinema, Cinema: Contemporary Art and the Cinematic Experience*, 105.

²¹⁷ Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces” (Lecture, ‘Des espaces autres’, 1967), trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16, 1 (Spring 1986), 22.

reception, and the subsequent establishment of predominantly narrative-based cinema (Classical ‘Hollywood’ cinema) with its reliance on standardised formats of projection and reception (i.e. darkened movie theatres) as the normative model for the cinematic experience. Secondly, on a conceptual plane emanating from the above ‘sites’ and at variance with these historic moments, *Two Impossible Films* introduces a relational element to that of the traditional monument in the form of the ‘copy’, or more precisely, the question and predominance of the ‘remake’ as a late twentieth century genre that examines and redeploys elements found within previous models.²¹⁸ Furthermore, through its setting within the city of Vancouver, the work brings to the fore filmic space as a product of the pre-eminent ‘site’ of modernity - the city as well as allegorically addressing the relation and tensions of artistic histories and production within the twentieth-century socio-political sphere.

Resisting narrative display

Thus, in proposing Lewis’ work *Two Impossible Films* as an immaterial counter-monument - or more precisely, a virtual counter-monument - I will return to the concept of site-specificity in counter-monument works, as defined in Chapter 2, as composed of multiple historic moments reconstituted as discursive “sites.” Like other film-based work shown in gallery settings, Lewis’ work re-enacts particular modes of spectatorship found in early cinema and counters the viewing experience developed in traditional or “Hollywood cinema” as we know it today.²¹⁹ The latter model of cinema space is coexistent with the growth of cinema production and its networked distribution industry, in which the viewing space of commercial theatres is in effect a non-place, a series of endlessly reproduced ‘sites’ indifferent to any particular cultural, national and local

²¹⁸ The form of the ‘remake’ that I am referring to here, is, as will be discussed in the following discussion, differs from the feature film cinema remake of popular film that has been part of cinema production in the Twentieth century.

²¹⁹ In using this term I am referring to, as Friedberg notes, the definition of Hollywood cinema as a “distinct mode of film practice.” See Friedberg, 133. This definition is presented in David Bordwell, Janet Steiger, and Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

context. Early cinema, lacking a homogenous form of production, projection and display, provided a disparate mode of spectatorship and, as Yuri Tsivian notes, an important feature of early cinema was the acceptance of people entering the theatre at any time during the performance to stay as long or short a time as they liked.²²⁰ Though this aspect gradually disappeared after programmes stopped showing several short films, it did continue in Germany into the 1920s. Tsivian defines this fluidity of experience or relation between the viewer and the screen as an “event of chance” and cites Ignatov’s statement, “you didn’t have to rush to catch the beginning of the film; the beginning was wherever you happened to come in.”²²¹ Here, the viewer was not yet a ‘distinct subject’ understood as an ‘audience,’ and thus the experience of such films could be understood as physically experiential as well as visual.²²² Similarly, Stanley Cavell in his observation of early cinema writes:

When movie going was casual and we entered at no matter what point in the proceedings ...and feeling free to decide when to leave or whether to see the familiar part through again, we took our fantasies and anonymity inside and left with them intact.²²³

This early history of spectatorship, though brief, replicated the casual flâneur of Baudelaire, a concept that Anne Friedberg presents as a evolutionary thread that links ur-forms of the cinematic - world fairs, glass arcades, and shopping - to that of the early cinema.²²⁴ Though instrumental in the concept of the individual ‘subject,’ the cinematic flâneur experienced the aforementioned forms of cinema “in a fragmentary fashion and in doses determined by the recipient himself.”²²⁵

For the viewer entering the gallery setting of *Two Impossible Films*, the work’s siting is

²²⁰ Yuri Tsivian, *Early Cinema in Russia and its Cultural Reception*, Richard Taylor ed. trans. Alan Bodger, (New York, London: Routledge, 1994), 38.

²²¹ Ibid., 38.

²²² Economic factors aside, arguably, two changes made random entrances problematic and undesirable. First, with the movement from ‘trick films’ to drama with expressly narrative stories and second, the addition of intertitles first used in Asta Nielsen’s *The Abyss*, 1910 in Denmark and the Italian epic *La Caduta Di Troia* (The Fall of Troy), 1911. See Tsivian, 10.

²²³ Stanley Cavell, *The World Viewed: Reflections on the Ontology of Film* (New York, 1971), 11.

²²⁴ Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern*, 64-70.

²²⁵ Tsivian, 39

reminiscent of early cinema's spatio-temporal presentation and, is, as Chris Deacon describes gallery-based cinema, 'a cinema of fragments.'²²⁶ Noting the unpredictability for the viewer inherent within such a mode of display, Esche writes of Lewis' film work that "the order in which the viewer experiences the work is determined simply by the point at which they enter the space."²²⁷ In this vein, the randomness of the viewers' encounter with the work supports Lewis' notion of displaying 'part cinema.' In doing so, Lewis' work destabilises the structuring of the cinematic site of viewing, particularly, the traditional organised seating arrangement, darkened hall and pre-determined time of showing associated with plot driven classical narrative film. Similarly, Lynne Cooke in describing the experience of viewing the cinema-based work of Marijke van Warmerdam remarks:

Since there is no fixed seating, spectators must determine their own vantage points, a process in which they become conscious of their activity as viewers. In this, her works are far removed from the classic, passive cinema experience in which the audience, cocooned in a darkened chamber, traditionally forfeits all self-consciousness, becoming totally immersed, discarnate observers.²²⁸

The highly immersive and seductive experience found in traditional cinematic presentation is described by psychoanalytic approaches as a setting that taps into the role of fantasy, or *scopic pleasure* as Laura Mulvey argues in her analysis of film as an explicitly voyeuristic site, and thus, a space that privileges the male spectator. However, I believe another reading may be useful in outlining the relation of spectator and screen, one that connects to my earlier definition of cinema as a monument form, as outlined in Gaylyn Studlar's analyses of traditional cinema spectatorship in "Masochism and the Perverse Pleasures of the Cinema." Rejecting Mulvey's emphasis on cinema as a site that is representative of a dominating and controlling gaze held by the spectator, Studlar, citing D. N. Rodowick, highlights Mulvey's project as a singularly driven enterprise that omits the inclusion of the submissive masochistic element of viewing in tandem with that of

²²⁶ Chris Deacon quoted in Mark Nash, "Art and Cinema: Some Critical Reflections" *Documenta 11*, Platform 5, 129.

²²⁷ Charles Esche, *Mark Lewis Films 1995-2000*, exhibition catalogue, 27.

²²⁸ Lynne Cooke quoted in Mark Nash, "Art and Cinema: some Critical Reflections," 130.

fetishistic scopophilia. He writes that “cinematic pleasure is much closer to masochistic scopic pleasure” where “the spectator at the cinematic dream screen regresses to a similar state of orality as the masochist and experiences a loss of ego-boundary.”²²⁹ Though no longer ‘auratic’ in the Benjaminian sense, a more implosive mechanism is at work in cinema according to Studlar, one that according to a number of theorists is overlooked by Benjamin in his desire for cinema as a politically liberating operation. As early as 1909, Leonid Andreyev described the relationship of spectator and film as a loss of subjectivity, writing that the experience of film “robbed one identity.” Studlar further argues:

The spectator’s narcissistic omnipotence is like the narcissistic, infantile omnipotence of the masochist, who ultimately cannot control the active partner. Immobile, surrounded in darkness, the spectator becomes passive receiving object who is also subject. The spectator must comprehend the images, but the images cannot be controlled. On this level of pleasure, the spectator receives, but no object-related demands are made.²³⁰

Thus, as Mills has observed in his analyses of modern communication networks as primarily constructing a one-way flow of information, cinema space as an entry into the network of cinema’s site is very much a submissive site of loss, as much as it could be viewed as one of visual empowerment. In this vein, the revolutionary Soviets’ use of public agit-trains, boats and events with cinema, posters and plays, or the government film board productions of Britain and Canada in the 1920s and 1930s, like the conventional monument or other ISA’s (Ideological State Apparatuses) in Althusserian terms, were explicitly constructing subjects. However, within mass culture entertainment and the prominent mode of cinema production, I would suggest a more nuanced form of coercion exists through what can be termed a Gramscian form of consent and participation in relation to the hegemony of particular ideological tendencies. As part of a hegemonic relation of power between social classes (monarchy, leaders etc.) the conventional monument, and, likewise cinema - though less explicit in some cases - represents a form of

²²⁹ Gaylyn Studlar, “Masochism and the Perverse Pleasures of the Cinema,” in *Film Theory and Criticism*, Gerald Mast, Marshall Cohen, Leo Braudy, eds. (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 785.

²³⁰ Ibid., 785.

hegemony where consent is formed by means of reinforcing ideological and political leadership within the realm of cultural production.²³¹ Therefore, the cinematic experience within the darkened theatre represents a detachment from the corporeal, the loss of mobility and the willingness to abandon one's eye-movement for that of a technical and virtual eye which accelerates the receptiveness of narrative structure. Echoing Adorno's sentiments regarding the capacity of film to subsume one's identity, Barthes comments:

Do I add to the images in movies? I do not think so; I don't have time: in front of the screen, I am not free to shut my eyes; otherwise, opening them again, I would not discover the same image; I am constrained to a continuous voracity; a host of other qualities, but not *pensiveness*.²³²

In contrast, through the random access of entry combined with the mobility of the viewer within the semi-darkened gallery, *Two Impossible Films* positions the spectator between the mode of the cinematic and that of "televisual spectatorship," a mode of viewing which Freidberg argues challenges the precepts of classical cinema spectatorship. Televisual spectatorship does not require a darkened room with projected luminous images; it permits mobility, thereby complicating the bodily relation to the screened image's scale is smaller than cinema screens and, due to new technologies (VCR, DVD), varying modes of reception are possible that exhibit interest and distraction simultaneously.²³³

Somewhat ironically, considering Lewis' earlier public art projects that addressed the conceptual question of the role of images outside the gallery walls, for his film work, the enlightenment ideal of the museum is of significance in its presumption "of the absolute

²³¹ For a concise description of Gramsci's concept of hegemony, see Roger Simon, *Gramsci's Political Thought: An Introduction* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1991), 22-29.

²³² Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, Trans. Richard Howard. (New York: Noonday, 1981), 55.

²³³ Freidberg, 136-140. Here I acknowledge a pragmatist or logician would argue that a spectator of classical Hollywood theoretically had the ability to move or come and go during the screening. However, such an argument would be ignoring the intention of the work's director, who, in my estimation, would never create works with the idea of an intermittent viewer.

sovereignty of the spectator in his or her disinterested attempt to remake the work.”²³⁴ In a similar vein, Chrissie Iles describes the shift from the theatre space as one of liberation:

Cinema becomes a cocoon, inside which a crowd of relaxed idle bodies is fixed, hypnotised by simulations of reality projected onto a single screen. This model is broken apart by the folding of the dark space into the white cube of the gallery.²³⁵

In considering Lewis’ work through the aforementioned readings of cinema spectatorship and cinema-based art in the gallery, I would conclude that *Two Impossible Films* is experienced as that which is a liminal site – somewhere between the familiarity of television or cinema and the more rigorous viewing practices of the gallery/museum. With the dissolution of the non-site of a cinema theatre that evacuates the spectator’s corporeal and public presence, and thus, consciousness, Lewis’ piece subverts the process in which the spectator is subsumed within a coherent sequential narrative experience.

Remaking the remake

Furthering my claim that the physical setting of the *Two Impossible Films* re-enacts elements of early cinema, and thus disrupts and counters the institutional viewing experience of traditional narrative cinema, I will now discuss the work as an immaterial counter-monument, one that in using metaphors from earlier cinematic models constructs itself on the ruins of the past in order to present a critical conception of cinema. Here, I consider *Das Kapital* and *The Story of Psychoanalysis* in terms related to the notion of the copy - an aspect relevant to both the conventional monument form and cinema. Updating the terminology somewhat, the role of *quotation* and the *remake* is paramount to much postmodern art and film-based productions and in Lewis’ work takes on a number of forms.

In introducing the concept of the remake, Deacon’s observation about the role of mimesis within cinema itself becomes topical. However, it is necessary to acknowledge that reflections

²³⁴ Mark Lewis, “Trying not to make films that are too long” Interview with Mark Lewis by Jerome Sans in *Mark Lewis Films 1995-2000*, 50.

²³⁵ Chrissie Iles quoted in Mark Nash, “Art and Cinema: some Critical Reflections.” 130.

upon cinema's histories have occurred within popular feature film production features for a number of years and is not an activity born entirely out of recent art production. As Dudley Andrew states, "Every representational film adapts a prior conception ... its adaptation is the appropriation of a meaning from a prior text."²³⁶ The concept of the remake - especially as executed within the mode of popular cinema production - singles out a work that has found a place in the canon of film history, and in this way, asserts that the original is can be recognised as a cinematic icon.²³⁷ Additionally, as I determined in chapter 2, the hallmark of cinema is the extension of its site-specificity to multiple dispersed sites functioning within an abstracted network which continually replicates its features across national and cultural geographies. As such, the genre of the remake re-enacts the very process and capabilities of its medium. By virtue of a reproduced version, films such as *The Student of Prague* (1913 and 1926), *Ben Hur* (1923 and 1953), *Nosferatu*, (1923 and 1978), *The Last of the Mohicans*, (1920, 1936 and 1992), and most recently Gus Van Sant's 1998 shot by shot remake of the 1960 film *Psycho*, the original becomes part of a series. In her discussion concerning the concept of the remake, Anne Friedberg notes that "since the beginning of film production, films were remade" and "the remake itself can produce a *mise en abyme* of references, an 'original' that is ever-receding."²³⁸ Recalling Benjamin's observations on the effect of mechanical reproduction on the cultural significance of an art object's value as an authentic and original work, she outlines the referential programmes informing the genre, delineating four types of remakes: films based on literary or stage properties; films that are remakes of earlier films; films remade as technology improves; and films that are remade to update or change historical details.²³⁹ However, as history has shown since Benjamin's perhaps naive view of cinema's potential to end ritual and auratic values of objects, the cultural

²³⁶ Dudley Andrew, *Concepts in Film Theory* (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 97.

²³⁷ The genre of the 'remake' is even listed as a category in the Video and DVD guide for Montréal's Boîte Noire independent art house video rental store. They list approximately 120 films under this section.

²³⁸ Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern*, 175.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 175.

importance among cinephiles of a director's cut of a film, an original Panavision print or an a rare or unique film print displays much of the ritualistic and auratic qualities found in earlier artworks. To a degree, one could argue that the original, by virtue of the re-make, is always a homage to the first and thus, the original takes on the properties of an iconic template. Though to be fair to Benjamin, film is bifurcated immediately between its endlessly repeatable material form as a celluloid strip (or digital code) and its temporary visual image, thereby eradicating the concept of an original form in its "unique existence in the place where it happens to be."²⁴⁰

The practice of remaking of an existing feature film is, of course, the most recognisable form. However, discreet practices involving the quotation of earlier works, often in the form of specific scenes or techniques are another topos found in numerous films. For example, Welles' vertiginous unedited single shot opening in *A Touch of Evil* (1958), is quoted in the beginning of Robert Altman's 1992 satirical film *The Player*. And the opening sequence of Wim Wenders' *Paris Texas* (1984) in which the character played by Harry Dean Stanton returns home, re-enacts the beginning scenes of John Ford's film *The Searchers* (1956) starring John Wayne. However, it is the work of Woody Allen that often displays explicit quotations of earlier films. The opening scene in Allen's *Stardust Memories* (1992) cites Federico Fellini's *8 ½* (1963), while *Interiors* (1978) and *Husbands and Wives* (1992) evoke Ingmar Bergman's *Cries and Whispers* (1972) and *Scenes from a Marriage* (1973) respectively. Clearly, as Friedberg writes, "film production has always teetered on this precipice between originality and repetition ...the repeatability of cinema products means that the apparatus can exactly quote itself, repeat its earlier form, if not its earlier context."²⁴¹

Over the past decade or so, the practice of quotation from existing film works has become a preoccupation within cinema based art production. As such, this raises the question of 'cinema'

²⁴⁰ Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, Hannah Arendt, ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 220.

²⁴¹ Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern*, 177.

as having reached its apex, where, as already witnessed in the history of painting and photography, film history is undergoing a similar dissection and reconfiguration within the practice of contemporary artistic production. Moving-image pieces such as Stan Douglas piece *Ouverture*, 1986, a work quoting elements of early cinema, Douglas Gordon's *24 Hour Psycho*, and Pierre Huyghe's aptly-titled *Remake* (1995), which reconfigures scenes from Hitchcock's *Rear Window* are notable examples. Thus, Lewis' archaeological quotation of two rarely discussed cinematic histories in *Two Impossible Films* reflects this late-twentieth-century interest in resurrecting 'past' moments and drafting them into a current mode of quotation, critique and play. In so doing, Lewis' revisitation and recycling of past ideas - in this case a prior film work that has not been made - displays a conceptual continuity with those of his works dealing with monument forms. In both modes of his artistic production, Lewis' excavates the detritus of history, in a practice evocative of Benjamin's philosophical project. Benjamin writes:

The matter itself is only a deposit, a stratum, which yields only to the most meticulous examination what constitutes the real treasure hidden within the earth: the images, severed from all the earlier associations, that stand like precious fragments or torsos in a collector's gallery-in the prosaic rooms of our later understanding.²⁴²

Therefore, the foregrounding of cinematic strategies for artists such as Mark Lewis and the concept of the 'remake' is, as Jean-Christopher Royoux writes:

a contribution to a post-modern definition of its relation to history and, more broadly speaking, of new modes of narrative that are currently emerging ... the phenomenon of the remake implies the development of processes of amnesia, the dredging up of buried events and of 'things forgotten at the beginning': a development likely to keep reviving and renewing future modes of appropriation.²⁴³

By contrast, within contemporary art production the status of the remake differs from popular cinema's practice, in that the former is often executed in a critical vein, often adapting or reducing the narrative form of the original to offer varied spatio-temporal perceptual experiences

²⁴² Walter Benjamin, "Berlin Chronicle" in *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 26.

²⁴³ Jean-Christophe Royoux, "Remaking Cinema" in *Cinema, Cinema: Contemporary Art and the Cinematic Experience*, exhibition catalogue. (Eindhoven: Stedelijk Van Abbemuseum, 1999), 21.

of viewing. By focusing on tacitly assumed structures of the original, this type of remake either eradicates existing meanings or extrapolates them into other discursive realms. Royoux writes:

The dissolution of narratives enacted by the various forms of their translation constitutes a milieu by which, or which, atmospheres, impressions and particular emotions are created. We could say that the entropy of narrative is therefore the condition of its transformation into mental landscape.²⁴⁴

Focussing on the presence of the remake within contemporary art, Royoux presents an analysis of the form that differs from Friedberg's more commercial model. For Royoux, four strategies of the remake can be isolated. Using Gordon's *24 Hour Psycho* to illustrate his first modality, he observes that narrative direction is suspended through the extension of temporal duration that creates an *atmosphere* rather than a scene with a clear meaning. His second type is exemplified by Huyghe's *Remake*, a work that singularises, distances and ultimately reveals the very moments of an actor's performance in a Brechtian manner, exposing and deconstructing narrative continuity. Royoux argues for such a process as more of a "succession of situations, as systems of interdependent social and environmental actions."²⁴⁵ The third strategy found in the concept of the remake Royoux defines as directly linked to the commercialisation of films as a product gradually replaced by TV series. The notion of the 'series' he argues, is found in Hitchcock's work, where each of his films "brings to the fore a structural process of narrative development as if it were the result of a series of variations on the same theme."²⁴⁶ Noting the work of Christoph Draeger's *Feel Lucky Punk?* (1998), a work composed of scenes from films shown on television (*Taxi Driver*, *Pulp Fiction*, *Thelma and Louise*, *Dirty Harry*) intercut with those of non-professional actors recreating the same scenes, and Huyghe's *Versions Multiples*, a work depicting three parallel versions of the sinking of the Titanic, Royoux argues that the popularity

²⁴⁴ Jean-Christophe Royoux, "The Narrative Landscape, or The Fate of Cinema in the era of its reproduction: a few remarks based on the work of six Young British artists" in *Perfect Speed*, exhibition catalogue, (Guelph, Tampa: MacDonald Stewart Art Centre, University of South Florida Contemporary art Museum, 1995-1996), 28.

²⁴⁵ Royoux, *Cinema, Cinema: Contemporary Art and the Cinematic Experience*, 24.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 25.

of re-articulating similar elements of violence and catastrophe makes an allegorical comment on the collapse of a certain narrative model.²⁴⁷ Turning to Godard's project *Histoire(s) du cinéma et de la télévision* as an example, Royoux posits a fourth strategy of remake composed of "a synthesis of the essential characteristics of the other three forms discussed above." For Royoux, *Histoire(s) du cinéma* "implies the shattering of History into a multitude of stories written by each spectator as he explores the singular path taken by the author." He continues defining this as an accumulation of archives - a cinema of exhibition, "a loop without beginning or end, a structure in which the experience of temporality can no longer be separated from a subjective reconstruction of duration demonstrating the possibility of an alternative to the kind of relation to time inherent in cinematographic sequentiality."²⁴⁸

Royoux's models provide useful entry points through which to consider the conceptual and compositional framework of Lewis's work. Yet, *Two Impossible Films* is not in any true sense a *remake*, since there is not an 'existing' filmic template from which it can claim a reference; nor is it in the Duchampian sense a form of a *readymade*. However, with its reference to an earlier planned film as cited in the title of the two segments *Das Kapital* and *The Story of Psychoanalysis*, this work questions the notion of both the remake and the readymade. Consequently, *Two Impossible Films* skirts and crosses these genres, and in situating them as 'sites', the work interrogates the inherent limits and possibilities of the cinema's form, particularly cinema's tradition of adapting cultural, textual or literary works into film, and by extension "cinema's metonymic capacity to repeat the exact same film over time: reissuing it, redistributing it, reseeing it."²⁴⁹ Hence, in questioning the socio-cultural desire for a reconstituting or doubling of histories, texts and events, whether they are executed in newer and/or different mediums, the work specifically highlights an idealised notion of what was proposed

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 25.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 26.

²⁴⁹ Friedberg, 177.

but did not occur - the writing of history. Reciprocally, in Lewis' departure from the form normally associated with the remake within traditional cinema, he frames the latter practice as participatory in the maintenance of grand narratives. Moreover, in declining to execute *Das Kapital* and *The Story of Psychoanalysis* as a narrative-based film remake (though the credit titles ostensibly suggests it is), Lewis further comments upon the original as a 'concept' born out of the genre of the remake. Discussing the current affinity for recycling forms found in history, Scott Mackenzie notes, "often, the representation of past images is an attempt to articulate the present through an understanding of a past that may never have existed but nevertheless lives on in its detritus of images."²⁵⁰

Thus, as a counter-monument practice, the strategic strength of *Two Impossible Films* lies in its contradictory position vis-à-vis the genre of the remake found in feature film production and contemporary quotational practices in cinema-based art works. The latter two approaches toward the remake are typically a doubling of narrative work. They either create a copy or update the original as found in commercial film or, in the case of art production, highlight and emphasise the narrative either through expansion or fragmentation. *Two Impossible Films* explicitly complicates these formats in declining to provide the expected storylines and visuals and, in doing so, draws attention to the notion of the remake as well as to the feature-film form itself. My discussion thus far has focussed on two elements of *Two Impossible Films*. The first aspect concerns discourses surrounding the physical siting that permit it to be read as a counter-monument practice against traditional cinema's spectatorship and, in turn, its viewing counters the reception of cinema's narrative structure. Secondly, I have addressed the conceptual operation (the notion of the remake) of *Two Impossible Films* as a counter-practice to that of the cinematic remake - the traditional mode of continuing an accepted narrative or trope as found in popular cinema - and to the concept of the remake found in contemporary art production. I will now turn

²⁵⁰ Scott Mackenzie, "Flowers in the dustbin: termite culture and detritus cinema" *CineAction*, Vol. no. 47, 1998. 27.

to consider the some of the references suggested within *Das Kapital* and *The Story of Psychoanalysis* through a textual reading of the visual images of each work.

Countering History

My claim that *Two Impossible Films* is to be understood as a cinematic counter-monument work is prompted by a specific cue within the film's opening image. Here, we are shown an inverted panoramic shot portraying the setting of Vancouver upside down in its natural harbour against the backdrop of the coastal mountains. As I discussed in Chapter 1, the role of iconoclasm, by its very nature, is an action that conceives of physical assaults led against monuments, which admittedly, are not artistic actions as such but ethical and or political ones. However, the work of J. M. W. Turner's swirling abstract brushwork in *Rain, Steam, Speed*, 1844, Picasso's *Female Nude*, 1910, and Raoul Hausmann's *Tatlin at Home*, 1920, presented iconoclastic approaches to representative techniques, while ready-mades by Duchamp such as *Bottle Rack*, 1914 or Jeff Koons, *New Hoover Convertibles*, *New Shelton Wet/Drys 5-Gallon Doubledecker*, 1980-7, are iconoclastic works that question the very concept of what constitutes an art object. In his essay "Some Sense of an End", Lewis writes:

Iconoclasm is an ever present tension that tears at the heart of art's self definition, its autonomy, it's a return of the repressed that attempts to place art back into the social realm, to reduce art to a sign of something.²⁵¹

Simultaneously excluded from, yet a foundational strategy of Modernism "iconoclasm continues as a metaphorical a priori of Modernism," Lewis argues.²⁵² Thus, if we are to place cinema within the taxonomy of image making, the inverted shot in *Das Kapital* allegorically references the iconoclastic actions of the sixteenth century Huguenots' practice of turning images upside

²⁵¹ Mark Lewis, "Some Sense of an End." 142. The upside down image in *Das Kapital* is a precursor to Lewis' 1996 film *Upside Down Touch of Evil*, in which he re-shoots the famous opening shot of Orson Welles' film entirely upside down. As he discusses in "Some Sense of an End," this technique for Lewis brings into question how a film would be like if it were actually filmed upside down and not flipped in the camera apparatus.

²⁵² Mark Lewis, "Some Sense of an End," 145.

down.²⁵³ In this respect, we might consider film itself as iconoclastic, taking into account Annette Michelson's observation that the photograph was a form of iconoclasm that "reopened the question of the icon, where the photo is both *image* and an *emanation*, and it is such by offering an icon which is *acheiropoietic* – not made by hands, but traced by light."²⁵⁴ Thus by extension, film form is an expansion of the notion of photography's *achieropoietic* nature and, at the hands of the Soviet avant-garde film-makers and for Benjamin's reading of art, politics and history, film's aesthetic and technological break with prior forms of art placed it as iconoclastic to tradition. Of importance is the manner in which *Das Kapital* and *The Story of Psychoanalysis* display both an expanded field of reference (explicit and implicit references to various histories) and yet, in contradistinction to available traditional cinematic formulations in which grand narratives are deployed, both pieces are executed with an explicit reduction in formal and narrative structure. For example, *The Story of Psychoanalysis* relies on a single fixed camera position, seemingly offering an objective view of the unfolding events captured on film, accompanied by dialogue that appears to be that of everyday citizens who use or pass through the public park. The scenes do not appear to be related in any manner, but appear to be the random fleeting moments apprehended by chance on film. In both works, Lewis pares down the cinematic medium by evacuating the required connective dialogue and cinematographic segments that provide plot and narrative comprehension. Furthermore, each lacks a main protagonist through which we might identify a storyline.

In *Das Kapital*, we are shown a series of images reminiscent of non-narrative sequences found in opening credits, film trailers, and closing credits that typically *surround* the filmic, and in doing so, Lewis reverses the traditional film form. However, in the absence of a clear sequential narrative, Lewis inserts text indicating the time of day on the bottom of a number of

²⁵³ Lewis notes this as a subject heading in his essay "Some Sense of an End." p. 142.

²⁵⁴ Annette Michelson, "The kinetic icon in the work of mourning: Prolegomena to the analysis of a textual system to three songs of Lenin, 1934," *October* 52, 30.

shots, offering the suggestion of a temporal sequence that might outline the possible events both seen and unseen. Additionally, with this compressed film form and lack of a narrative ‘body’, Lewis substitutes the visual temporal plot development with a series of intertitles of terms commonly found on a preparatory storyboard or screenplay sheet: “story development,” “dramatic conflict,” and “temporary resolution.” This emphasis on formal elements is not a continuation of modernist avant-garde film, nor does it construct a strict Brechtian distancing. Rather, *Two Impossible Films* displays both seductive and distancing effects implicating various regimes of display as intertwined and co-dependent within the history of modernity and its use of cinema in administering ideology. Discussing the self-referentiality in contemporary avant-garde film practice Mackenzie writes, “fin de siècle self-reflexive appropriation has more to do with raiding the image-banks of the past in order to reconstruct a point of reference outside the imagescape the post-modernists like Jean Baudrillard find all-pervasive.”²⁵⁵ It is my position that the use and emphasis of formal shot construction in *The Story of Psychoanalysis* and *Das Kapital*, presents these cinematic conventions as tropes commonly used within narrative cinema. In this sense, they can be understood as similar to Genette’s notion of the ‘contract’ or ‘pact’ that exists in literature. For example the panoramic aerial shot depicting the city of Vancouver at the start of *Das Kapital* exemplifies a cinematic convention commonly found in classical Hollywood film as an establishing shot at the start of movies, creating for the viewer a sense of virtual or visual narrative coherency. The panoramic shot, unlike the close-up, the medium or ‘Plan American’ shot, powerfully suggests the mastery of the camera over space and provides the spectator’s “gaze with the illusion of liberty, while all the more radically enclosing it within a finite world – a universe of limited possibility.”²⁵⁶

Lewis’ use of montage, notably, the extreme close-ups and rapid cuts between shots, directly

²⁵⁵ Scott Mackenzie, 27.

²⁵⁶ Annette Michelson, “The Kinetic Icon in the work of mourning: Prolegomena to the analysis of a textual system to three songs of Lenin, 1934,” *October* 52, 246.

references Eisenstein's theories of montage and the application of said methods in *Strike*, *Potemkin* and *October*. With the quotation of Eisenstein's techniques, the montage sequences further reference the period of avant-garde film practice that, politically motivated, functioned in opposition to traditional practices developing within Western film production. Furthermore, Lewis' emphasis on the formal qualities (types of shots, montage etc.) in combination with the implied socio-political inference of the film's title, contains similarities to the critical deconstruction of film practice and viewing experiences found in works by filmmakers informed by post-colonial discourses operating under the rubric of 'Third Cinema.' As Mark Nash notes, the work of artists such as Trinh T. Minh-ha, Pere Portabella, Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucci exhibit a practice of deconstructing and reworking the colonial archive through their reference to techniques used in documentary film, and have influenced the work of current film-based artists.²⁵⁷

However, the fulcrum of Lewis' efforts might be found in Johanne Lamoureux's remark on *Two Impossible Films*. She writes:

La question de Mark Lewis devient alors: Comment représenter l'impossible de la modernité? Il s'agit d'une interrogation qui touche de près la question du sublime, un thème récurrent du discours critique de Vancouver.²⁵⁸

Indeed, Lewis' references to visual conventions in Soviet avant-garde and classical cinema is recognition that each of these cinematic sites functioned as visual strategies to represent the utopian possibilities of modernity. On the one hand, the film work of Eisenstein attempted to portray the ideology of the masses; by contrast, Goldwyn's film work represented the aspirations of the individual. Or to put another way, the two opposing ideologies of capitalism and socialism in modernity were the transformation of the sublime found within nature into that of a sublime of socio-political ideologies. Thus, modernity's universalism, with its claim of progress and

²⁵⁷ Mark Nash, "Art and Cinema: Some Critical Reflections," 129.

²⁵⁸ Johanne Lamoureux, "Montréal – Vancouver: Notes sur la représentation de l'impossible" *Parachute*, 81. (Jan/Feb/March, 1996), 35.

development demanded testimonies and records announcing its achievements to the ‘masses’ – a task taken up by cinema. Indeed, within modernity, Fascism, capitalism and totalitarianism have all found the aestheticisation of politics as crucial in legitimising power.²⁵⁹ Alexander Garcia Duttman writes “it is possible to consider the art or the politics of art or the politics of mechanical reproduction of the image as exemplary of all politics.”²⁶⁰ However, as reality is never guaranteed by intentions and actions, representations of modernity could not adequately account for and display the contradictions within its goals. Consequently, visualising its ideology was an expression of myth and fantasy; as Benjamin stated, “The sensation of the newest, the most modern, is in fact just as much a dream form of events as the eternal return of the same.”²⁶¹ As such, modernity contains aspects of Boileau’s definition of the sublime. He writes, “The sublime is not strictly speaking something which is proven or demonstrated, but a marvel, which seizes one, strikes one, and makes one feel.”²⁶² With its shattering of space, distance and time, the spatio-temporal form of cinema presents modernity’s fourth dimension fusing technologies of mechanical vision with those of motions and sensations through the invisible presence of its medium. Films such as Vertov’s self-reflexive *Man with a Movie Camera* (1929), Eisenstein’s *BattleShip Potemkin* (1926), Fritz Lang’s *Metropolis* (1926) and Griffith’s *Birth of a Nation* (1915) each reflected modernity’s effort to show its aspirations, past, present and future. In so doing, cinema presents modernity as both a reality and an ‘idea’ and hence, that of the sublime. Describing the conflict between representation and non-representation, Lyotard writes:

The failure of expression gives rise to a pain, a kind of cleavage within the subject between what can be conceived and what can be imagined or presented. But this pain in turn engenders a pleasure, in fact a double pleasure: the impotence of the imagination attests *a contrario* to an imagination striving to figure even that which cannot be figured, and that imagination thus aims to harmonise its object with that of reason – and that

²⁵⁹ See Benjamin’s discussion of this in his ‘Epilogue’ to “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.” in *Illuminations*, 241-242.

²⁶⁰ Alexander Garcia Duttman, “Tradition and Destruction: Walter Benjamin’s Politics of Language” in *Walter Benjamin’s Philosophy: Destruction and Experience*, 35.

²⁶¹ Walter Benjamin quoted in Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. 108.

²⁶² Boileau cited in Jean-Francois Lyotard, “The Sublime and the Avant-Garde” in *The Lyotard Reader*, ed. Andrew Benjamin. (Oxford, U.K., Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1989), 202.

furthermore the inadequacy of the images is a negative sign of the immense power of ideas.²⁶³

Noting Lyotard's comment, Lewis' choice or perhaps if you will, his failure to produce a version of *Das Kapital* or *The Story of Psychoanalysis*, reiterates Eisenstein's and Goldwyn's failure to provide narratives particular to their 'ideological sites' within modernity. Thus, in a certain way Lewis is faithful to the original if we might use the term loosely, in that Eisenstein and Goldwyn's works only remain as a conceptual idea. However, in doing so, *Two Impossible Films* echoes Benjamin's concern with the rescue and preservation of artefacts, images and ideas of history. As Gilloch observes, Benjamin saw this process as liberation with the subsequent re-use or refunctioning of these ruins in the pressing political struggles of the moment.²⁶⁴

Though, at first there appears little in the way of an explicit reason why Vancouver (or 'Terminal City' as John O'Brian states referring to a moniker once used for Vancouver) would stand in for a resolutely European history. The location is certainly iconoclastic to the origins of *Das Kapital* in that both Marx's text and Eisenstein's work are representative of European modernity, and more or less evoke its urban centres such as Moscow, London, Paris and Berlin. The aforementioned quote by Lamoureux signals that the siting of the film is less of an unorthodox shift than initially appears. Here, I believe that not unlike his work *What is to Done?*, a piece that contradicts the expectation of the viewer in regards to a 'proper' site, Lewis situates the discursive realm of the work on the political fault line between the socialist and capitalist histories of modernity in order to highlight the present moment – as well as his role within contemporary art production. As Lamoureux noted, the notion of the sublime is found in the writing and production of art by Vancouver artists such as Roy Arden, Jeff Wall and Ian Wallace. Extending the notion of the sublime as conceptually participating in the meaning of *Two Impossible Films*, I believe the use of Vancouver stands in as a marker of the postmodern city and

²⁶³ Ibid., 203.

²⁶⁴ Graeme Gilloch, *Myth and Metropolis*, 14.

its participation within global economics, particularly that of film production. Writing in *The Cinematic City*, John R. Gold and Stephen V. Ward note that film is understood by a number of writers as an “urban art” that “frequently articulates its narratives against the backdrop of the metropolitan city” due in part to the location of major film studios in cities such as Los Angeles, New York, Paris and London.²⁶⁵ Here, the city of Vancouver, a subject that in a number of artworks is interrogated through the concept of the picturesque and the sublime, is an example of the global city. Setting the work within Vancouver, Lewis is implying the city itself exists as a *döppelgänger* - standing in for numerous other cities in major Hollywood film and television productions – the virtual product of the ultimate pan-national market force. In *Writings on Cities*, Henri Lefebvre offers an interesting reading of the city form writing:

The city was and remains an object, but not in the way of particular, pliable and instrumental object: such as a pencil or a sheet of paper. Its objectivity, or “objectality,” might rather be closer to that of language which individuals and groups receive before modifying it, or language (a particular language, the work of a particular society, spoken by particular groups) One could compare this “objectality” to that of a cultural reality, such as the written book, instead of the old abstract object of the philosophers or the immediate and everyday object. However, one must take precautions. If I compare the city to a book, to writing (a semiological system), I do not have the right to forget the aspect of mediation. I can separate it neither from what it contains nor from what contains it, by isolating it as a complete system.²⁶⁶

In his discussion of Marx, Derrida notes that in *The Critique of Political Economy*, Marx explained that “the body of money is but a shadow” and that the “whole movement of idealisation, of ideologems, is a production of ghosts, illusions, simulacra, appearances, apparitions.”²⁶⁷ In this sense, “‘capital’ or sites of capital are themselves ‘specters’,” as John O’Brian states quoting Derrida. As Benjamin noted, the modern capitalist metropolis, principally the arcades of Paris and the glass and iron architecture of that city, represented the

²⁶⁵ John R. Gold and Stephen V. Ward. “Of Plans and Planning: Documentary films and the challenge of the urban future, 1935-1952,” in *The Cinematic City*, ed. David B. Clarke. (London, New York: Routledge, 1997), 61.

²⁶⁶ Henri Lefebvre, “The Specificity of the City,” in *Writings on Cities*, ed. and trans. Eleanor Kofman and Elixabeth Lebas, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 102.

²⁶⁷ Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 45.

phantasmagoria of modernity. He writes. “Capitalism was a natural phenomena with which a new dream sleep fell over Europe and with it, a reactivation of mythic powers.”²⁶⁸ Arguably, the city of Vancouver represents the consummate site of postmodernism (especially reflected in its architecture) with glass condominium towers glinting in the sunlight that, in essence, construct a world of vertical glass interiors mimetic of Benjamin’s description of Paris as a “looking-glass city.”²⁶⁹ As Lyotard observes, “There is something of the sublime in capitalist economy. It is not academic, it is not physiocratic, it admits of no nature. It is, in a sense, an economy regulated by an Idea – infinite wealth and power.”²⁷⁰ This notion of ‘glass architecture’ is explicitly depicted in *Das Kapital* with the sequence of shots depicting business executives examining construction blueprints, which Lewis has set within an impressively large glass clerestory space overlooking Vancouver’s harbour (Fig. 17). Here, I posit Lewis expressly translates a passage written April 7, 1928 in Eisenstein’s “Notes for a Film of *Capital*.” Discussing the function of the image and frame composition for the planned film, Eisenstein writes:

The ideology of the unequivocal frame must be thoroughly reconsidered. How, I can’t yet tell. Experimental work is needed. For that, it’s “madly” necessary to make THE GLASS HOUSE, in which the (usual) idea of the frame is what happens to the structure of things in the fragments of OCTOBER and in CAPITAL’S entire structure.²⁷¹

The relevance of this idea is further explicated by the footnote to the above passage stating:

The Glass House was a project of Eisenstein’s, conceived in 1926 and developed parallel to the filming of October and the planning of Capital. The action of this satire on bourgeois society was to have taken place in a building whose walls, ceilings and floors were made of glass. In this text, one experimental possibility of the project considered the inclusion within the frame of several actions.²⁷²

Perched at the edge of the North American continent, its market energies fuelled by trade with the ‘Pacific Rim,’ a term that in the mid-1990s began to take on the ideal category of ‘place’ or a

²⁶⁸ Walter Benjamin quoted in Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, 271.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 81.

²⁷⁰ Jean-François Lyotard, “The Sublime and the Avant-Garde,” 209.

²⁷¹ Sergei Eisenstein, “Notes for a Film of *Capital*” October 2 (1976), 24.

²⁷² Eisenstein, N. 26. “Notes for a Film of *Capital*” 24.

para-state like form, organised expressly by market trade forces, Vancouver appeared (at least for a while) to be the jewel in this model of neo-liberal democracy. Notable in a number of random shot sequences, Lewis foregrounds Vancouver's urban development: its monumental condominium towers, the skytrain built for the 1986 Expo, and the derivative architectural echoes of the Roman coliseum in the Public Library's massing - a dubious post-modern monument in itself. However, in contrast to such images of urban success, I would argue Lewis' work allegorically references urban progress, modernity, or perhaps even the city form as symbols of 'disaster' ultimately linked to the concept of an 'end' or a death. The latter is allegorically played out in a series of scenes that hint at a real estate transaction terminated in violence. With the insertion of shots depicting an urban *terrain vague* reminiscent of the settings in the photographic works of Wall's *Diatribes*, (1986) Roy Arden's *Pneumatic Hammer* (#2), or *Construction Site and 'Suntower'* (1992), Lewis disrupts and counters the organised spectacle of urban homogeneity – the hallmark of modernity. Such urban sites depicted in the images exist as forgotten and ambiguous spaces, where amidst corporate development they stand as question marks within the urban topography. Thus, acknowledging the cinematic form as one that is inextricably linked to technology and the urban centre for both its productive and receptive needs, this reading of *Das Kapital* places it as both an allegory of progress and of 'disaster.' Extending this perspective, I argue Lewis metaphorically aligns the history of cinema as having also reached a virtual 'death' whose remains carry on as a collection of ruins that Lewis excavates.

Revisiting Freud

Turning to *The Story of Psychoanalysis*, a few observations can be presented that touch upon its role as a counter-monument providing a social commentary of early cinema, public space, and the urban monument. Visually less complex and employing a different cinematic approach than *Das Kapital*, Lewis reduces the camera to that of a neutral observatory role, where in its fixed position it objectively captures events occurring in front of its lens. Evoking the duration of a long take, the immobility of the camera's position recalls the fixed camera films of early cinema

that were shot on a single unedited strip of film. Complementing this suggestion of film's nascent beginnings, Lewis has chosen subject matter that, like Lumière's first reels *Sortie des usines Lumière* (1895) and *L'Arrivée d'un train*, is set within a public place. As Siegfried Kracauer notes, Lumière's work "displayed throngs of people moving in diverse directions ... it was life at its least controllable and most unconscious moments, a jumble of transient, forever dissolving patterns accessible only to the camera."²⁷³ With the inclusion of a public monument, albeit one that probably was placed there specifically by Lewis himself, the relations of film, public space, Freud's writings and that of the monument is humorously intertwined. Otto Rank, who is listed as a character in the credit list, described film form as the following:

Perhaps it follows that filmic form, which reminds us of dream techniques in more ways than one, expresses certain psychological facts and relationships - which the poet cannot clearly articulate in words - in a distinct and manifest language and thus makes their meaning more accessible.²⁷⁴

Through his inclusion of a monument form within a film, though one that goes unnoticed except for a male character's comment on the fact that "someone has painted his dick red," I believe Lewis' makes a self-referential comment on the role of film as participating in a public form of iconology and narrative once held by monuments. In using the formal techniques of early cinema - though simple and perhaps primitive by today's special-effect-driven production that seek to push the *fantastic* into the realm of *realism*, Lewis exposes the dream-like character of cinema in its simplest form. Furthermore, the work also signifies the competing and contradictory 'desires' or drives that co-exist within public space, such as in the very notion of the democratic, shared vision of 'public' parks. Here, in Lewis' portrayed public space, the 'monument' form has become silent, repressed and forgotten amidst the interactions of a heterogeneous public. Thus, I would argue that Lewis makes evident both the impossibility the public monument form to carry

²⁷³ Siegfried Kracauer, *Theory of Film*, in *Film Theory and Criticism*, Gerald Mast, Marshall Cohen, Leo Braudy, eds. (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 785

²⁷⁴ Otto Rank quoted in Heide Schlüpmann, "The first German art Film: Rye's *The Student of Prague* (1913)" in *German Film and Literature: Adaptions and Transformations*, Eric Renschler, ed. (New York, London: Methuen & Co., 1986), 13.

tradition and meaning as well as the aspirations of the managers of public parks/space to enforce uniform civic values therein. Describing the monument form in public space, Lewis comments:

It is enveloped in a series of overlapping layers of representation: symbolic, perspectival and abstract. It is because of this overlapping that at key times the different moments emerge, when they might be expected to have been banished. We might say that we find the monument (like Marx' commodity) to be "a very queer thing indeed."²⁷⁵

To conclude my discussion of *Two Impossible Films*, I will turn to examine the role of photography and text within the exhibition structure and the cinematic structure of the work. Accompanying the film in the gallery display context Lewis has produced a series of colour photographs mounted on the gallery walls, each portraying various scenes taken from the looped filmic segments *Das Kapital* and *The Story of Psychoanalysis*. Sharing this wall space are the end credits, stencilled on the white surface. Here, a number of relational possibilities may be entertained. Clearly, Lewis' use of photography is a continuation of the medium that he worked with throughout the 1980s. In an interview with Jérôme Sans, Lewis explains his choice of the film medium over video rests in the relational aspect of photography as the historical antecedent to cinema. He states:

Strictly speaking, film is photography 24 times a second. Or to put it another way, there is no reason why a film cannot be a single image, a single photograph ... Film's stillness is often concealed by film's general and historical alliance with narrative which demands movement and considerations of time (both alien to the still photographic image). But this stillness really never goes away. The photographic image haunts film and that one of the reason why film remains 'in between' – in between photography and video, and perhaps also between painting and digital media.²⁷⁶

Correspondingly, Lewis' observation is a reverse addendum upon the discourse surrounding the lack of temporal deployment in photography compared to film, the latter creating durational 'time' by its actual physical movement. With its capability to capture an object instantaneously as an image, much writing on photography describes it as fixed within a frozen moment of time; its presence functions as not unlike history, in that the latter is "commonly understood as a document

²⁷⁵ Mark Lewis, "Some sense of an End," 149.

²⁷⁶ Mark Lewis in *Mark Lewis Films 1995-2000*, 47.

that which has happened – a series of events, or, at least moments thought to be eventful, which suggests that something occurred.”²⁷⁷ However, in displaying photographic images across the gallery walls and juxtaposed to text, the process of image making from photographs to film, or as Lewis describes it ‘photography 24 times a second’ becomes a metaphor of that of syntax. In her discussion of photomontage, Rosalind Krauss argues that in Dadaist and Surrealist art, the role of blanks or spacing in the work disrupts the unity of the photographic image. She writes:

The photographic image, thus “spaced,” is deprived of one of the most powerful of photography’s many illusions. It is robbed of a sense of presence ... [t]he photographic image is not only a trophy of this reality, but a document of its unity as that which-was-present-at-one-time. But spacing destroys simultaneous presence: for it shows things sequentially, either one after another or external to one another –occupying separate cells. It is spacing that makes it clear-as it was to Heartfield, Tretyakov, Brecht, Aragon-that we are not looking at reality, but at the world infested by interpretation or signification, which is to say, reality distended by the gaps or blanks which are the formal preconditions of the sign.²⁷⁸

Reciprocally, the fragmentation of the filmic work into ‘still’ images not only testifies to the structure of cinema as constructed of photographs in that still images are the *phonemes* that comprise the expanded temporality found in film, it additionally marks the viewer’s experience of film as parallel to text, that like language it is a spatial set of notations written through light. Consequently, the insertion of text (“story development”, “dramatic conflict”, “temporary resolution”, “fade-up from black”, “roll end credits”) within the film not only describes the structure of an unseen narrative, it articulates the diachronic ‘syntax’ that constitutes the durational function of film, and makes an emphasis that cinema is always a translation of a prior textual source or plan.²⁷⁹ Describing his emphasis of inserting opening credits through the film, Lewis refers to the credits lists of material production as overlays, that in Mallarmean terms,

²⁷⁷ Patrice Petro, “After Shock/Between Boredom and History” in Patrice Petro, ed. *Fugitive Images: From Photography to Video* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), 265.

²⁷⁸ Rosalind Krauss, “The Photographic Conditions of Surrealism” in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (London, Cambridge: Mass.: The MIT Press, 1986), 107.

²⁷⁹ Though a film such as Lars Van Trier’s *The Idiots* represents an attempt to create a spontaneous, mise-en scene events created by the actors themselves.

create spaces and absences in the image.²⁸⁰ Like text found on plinths or pedestals that supplement and provide additional elements of the narratives involved in monument, the highlighting of credits (site, actors, textual origin of story etc.) interrupts the visuality of the work, presenting a tension between the viewers' experience of images and language. Thus, metaphorically we could describe the role of text in *Two Impossible Films* as a supplement to the film which is itself only a pedestal for a non-existent monument.

Through the above discussion of *Two Impossible Films*, my aim has been to examine the work as an artistic response that supports and reflects on my earlier claim of cinema as the immaterial monument in the twentieth-century. In recognising the role of cinema in contemporary art production, I located the post-historical perspectives commonly shared among contemporary producers of film based work, where cinematic histories intersect with formal and socio-political concerns. From this, I directed the discussion to focus on specific elements of film history, modernity and current socio-political factors to inform the specificity of my proposal of *Two Impossible Films* as a counter-monument. As outlined in Chapter 1, the conventional monument drew its symbolic power through making visible the body of the ruler, the state's ideals and its narrative of nationhood. Articulated through the image, text and site, the material manifestation of political propagandist aims was clearly constructed and defined. In acknowledging cinema as a new form of the monument within the twentieth-century, particularly, in its continuation of making visible ideals of power, state and leadership, Lewis' film explicitly declines to present and reify the intentions of Eisenstein to present the ideology of Marx's *Das Kapital* and Goldwyn's interest in Freud's theories of psychoanalysis and the human condition. On one hand, through its site of display, *Two Impossible Films* is emblematic of current cinematically reflexive works that seek to return to the viewer moments of individual experience in that their vision and physicality is returned and welcomed as an operative component within

²⁸⁰ Mark Lewis, "A Sense of Disbelief" 102.

the work. This move to the gallery space is on the one hand recuperative and mnemonic in its suggestion of early cinematic forms and histories, yet iconoclastic in its dissolution of the traditional narrative cinematic space of display. In permitting the viewer a random and undirected mode of viewing, Lewis dismantles the cinematic experience through the randomness of physical interaction. Furthermore, acknowledging film as a principally narrative based medium, *Two Impossible Films* counters cinema's role in presenting narratives of power that participate in what Michelson describes as "the process of historicization which transforms the document into a monument."²⁸¹ Therefore, Eisenstein's and Goldwyn's intended works are countered not as a starting point of a possibility in cinema history; rather Lewis arrests their cinematic potential and, in averting viewer's expectations, the resultant work is in some ways evocative of Burke's concept of the sublime. For as Lyotard notes, Burke's sublime "is kindled by the threat of nothing further happening."²⁸² In this sense, Lewis' work is the threat of an end, or at least it creates what we might consider a 'suspension' or 'delay.' In addition, Lewis' negation of a narrative story pertinent to the work's titles revokes cinema's reproductive force as a network through which history is virtually re-enacted. Here, Lewis articulates an aspect of the avant-garde's relation to the sublime and transfers its concern to the political realm of ideology, cinema and narrative. As Lyotard writes on the avant-garde production, "The art object no longer bends itself to models, but tries to present the fact that there is an unrepresentable."²⁸³ To this end, I would argue, *Two Impossible Films* offers a negative dialectic regarding the West's self-definition of the historical present following the demise of the Soviet Union and, through revealing the limits of representation by revisiting two arrested plans from history, poses the question of what it means to write and display narratives of ideology following the "end of history."

²⁸¹ Annette Michelson, "The Kinetic Icon in the work of mourning: Prolegomena to the analysis of a textual system to three songs of Lenin, 1934," 38.

²⁸² Lyotard, 204

²⁸³ Ibid., 206.

4. Conclusion

Though I have touched upon the similarities of both Lewis' works to other contemporary artistic practices, this has not been the main focus of my discussion. However, with consideration of my reading of his work as counter-monuments, further study of his work certainly would foreground a number of conceptual and formal strategies found in practices of contemporary Canadian and international artists alike. Notably, his transfer of the image and sculptural semblance of Lenin in *What is to be Done?* recalls Michael Asher's conceptual and physical translation of the statue of George Washington monument at the Art Institute of Chicago. Like Asher's work, *What is to be Done?* prompts a re-reading of the statue's new site(s) within the West through the physical translation from the object's former site of existence. Here, Lewis' project exemplifies the interest in contemporary art production in the use of allegory and mirrors Craig Owens's definition of such practices in his landmark 1980 essay "The Allegorical Impulse: Toward a Theory of Postmodernism." Owens writes:

Allegory occurs whenever one text is doubled by another; the Old Testament, for example, becomes allegorical when it is read as a preparation of the New . . . Allegorical Imagery is appropriated imagery; the Allegorist does not invent images but confiscates them. He lays claim to the culturally significant, poses as its interpreter. And in his hands the image becomes something other. He does not restore an original meaning that may have been lost or obscured: allegory is not hermeneutics. Rather, he adds another meaning to the image.²⁸⁴

Thus, *What is to be Done?*, like counter-monument works executed by contemporary artists' such as Wodiczko, Gerz, and Asher, relies upon strategies such as appropriation, site-specificity, impermanence, accumulation, discursivity and hybridisation that Owens identifies as the distinguishing factors of art following modernism. The use of allegory for contemporary artists who use public space is the structural scaffolding through which their work operates and often, as in the case of Lewis' *What is to be Done?* create provocative experiences for many viewers.

²⁸⁴ Craig Owens, "The Allegorical Impulse: Towards a Theory of Postmodernism," October 12 (Spring 1980), 68-70.

Likewise, another avenue of enquiry I have touched upon that can provide further context is the relation of Lewis' *Two Impossible Films* to work produced by artists involved in what is known as a Vancouver 'look' or 'school.' I would argue, like N. E. Thing Co's *Ruin* (1968) or Wall's *Stumbling Block* (1986), Lewis' setting of *Two Impossible Films* within the city of Vancouver situates the film in the trajectory of Vancouver based photo-conceptual art that questions the modernist ideals of historical and ideological progress by utilising the very material and aesthetic forms of modernity to serve another end.²⁸⁵ Starting with Iain and Ingrid Baxter's exploration of the city of Vancouver and surrounding landscape, followed by Jeff Wall, Iain Wallace and Roy Arden in the late 1970s and 1980s, their respective works often privileged the social spaces and sites of Vancouver as a stage for their textually layered photographic practices. As such, I believe these artists' considerations of modernism's formal, social and political histories within the urban landscape are the direct art historical precedents informing Lewis' work. The similarity between Lewis' *Two Impossible Films* and the work of the Vancouver School is palpable in the shared emphasis on the city as a 'site' to be staged through the photographic lens. As Lewis writes, "The history of art has always taken place against the backdrop of a place: a geographical location which, through its physical architecture and its cultural and economic characteristics, has given a "look" to a particular period or movement in art."²⁸⁶ Clearly, this film work employs a number of operative references where Lewis evidently situates himself within the legacy of photo-based artists in Vancouver. For example, like Jeff Wall's self-portrait appearance in his photograph *Pictures for Women*, (1979), Lewis' inclusion of himself setting up the camera at the start of *Das Kapital* signals a conscious statement about the artist as producer within a cultural field. This is further accentuated by the lecture led by the

²⁸⁵ The salient visual aesthetics in much of the work produced under the rubric of photo-conceptualism are highly polished production values and meticulous attention to formal detail. It is through such technical concerns that artists' such as Jeff Wall merge the appearance of modernist documentary values of realist objectivity with the incorporation of a critical stance denying seemingly neutral images a value free reading.

²⁸⁶ Mark Lewis, "Some Sense of an End," 150.

art historian John O'Brian where Wall himself appears, if only for a brief moment.²⁸⁷ Noting this Johanne Lamoureux writes:

Cette dernière apparition, pour brève qu'elle soit, constitue un hommage fort amusant. Car si elle rend incournable la parenté iconographique, thématique et esthétique entre l'oeuvre de Lewis et celle de Wall, elle produit une condensation ironique entre le travail de celui-ci et la production hollywoodienne. La renommée de Wall a fait de Vancouver un site particulier à travers le monde. Il est quasi impossible de se promener dans la ville sans être saisi, ici et là, par un effet de reconnaissance pervers, comme si la ville n'était qu'une vaste répertoire de Wall virtuels.²⁸⁸

Furthermore, Wall's photographic work, with its allegorical attention to earlier artistic precedents while using Vancouver as a backdrop, certainly warrants a comparative consideration with that of Lewis' *Two Impossible Films* as well as Lewis' later film also set in Vancouver *Upside Down Touch of Evil* (1997). As Thomas Crow details, Wall's interest in the question of modernity and its modes of representation and sites of production are foregrounded through his use of photography as an update to the genre of history painting. For example, nineteenth-century Paris paintings such as Manet's *Bar at the Folies-Bergère* are quoted in Wall's *Pictures for Women*, 1979, and as the geographic analogy of an abandoned Vancouver site in *Diatribes*, 1985, Crow posits Wall re-iterates Vincent Van Gogh's painting *Outskirts of Paris*, 1886-8. In a similar vein, through the luminous clarity of Lewis' cinematography, evocative of Wall's searing realist photo transparencies, these strategies of re-reading the use of public space, modernity and its history through the revisitation and re-interpretation of earlier cinematic productions clearly appear within Lewis' work.²⁸⁹

Complementing the above, Lewis' inclusion of the art historian John O'Brian and Patrick Painter - Lewis' art dealer - in *Das Kapital* explicitly signals Lewis' work and practice as

²⁸⁷ The work of N.E. Thing was the first to employ the large scale back lit photographic light box in 1968 with their work *Ruins* which also predated Jeff Wall's images of suburban sprawl depicted in his 1980 piece titled, *The Bridge*.

²⁸⁸ Johanne Lamoureux, "Montréal – Vancouver: Notes sur la représentation de l'impossible," *Parachute* 81, (Jan, Feb, March, 1996), 36.

²⁸⁹ Thomas Crow's essay "Profane Illuminations" offers one of the most lucid and informed analysis of Jeff Wall's work in relation to the history of art and social art history. See Thomas Crow, *Modern Art in the Common Culture* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1996), 151-169.

participating within the network of academia and the commercially driven art market, a factor that has been the hallmark of the Vancouver School's success. Noting this fact, Lamoureux writes, "The co-existence between the talk by John O'Brian and the criminal story depicted place into a tension the political questions of the artistic community and the circulation of capital."²⁹⁰ In this way, *Das Kapital* displays the historic tension that has existed between the aspirations of the avant-garde and capitalist mass culture through the cinematic realm. As Andreas Huyssen recounts, "the concept of the avant-garde has remained inextricably bound to the idea of progress in industrial and technological civilization."²⁹¹ Thus, we arrive at another shared question raised in both *Das Kapital* and *What is to be Done?*. What is the avant-garde's place in history and its legacy and role within current art production at the end of the millennium and its future in the 'post' Soviet world? Does it exist only as discourse within the walls of academia, as viewed within the scene in *Das Kapital* of O'Brian's lecture?

The primary aim of this thesis has been directed toward an examination of a set of concerns that situate *What is to be Done?* and *Two Impossible Films* as counter-monument works. In my examination of three historical moments of the monument - its transition from a figurative sculptural form located in a fixed site within public space, to the abstracted and politically radical motivations informing the Constructivist works of Kolli and Tatlin, and ending with an examination of cinema's function as a means to disseminate ideological and political narratives - I outlined the operative strategies that link each model. From this, I introduced the conceptual strategies found within counter-monument practices that can be understood as critical challenges to programmes of propaganda and ideology within the system and execution of conventional and institutional forms of the monument. These areas of analysis enabled my examination of Lewis' two works to be understood as incorporating a range of socio-historical and theoretical references

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 36. (My translation).

²⁹¹ Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986), 4.

that reflect on the importance of acknowledging that the role of ideology has not been triumphantly conquered since the passing of the Soviet Union, but rather, we must recognize that the presence of public forms of narratives of power are structurally intertwined with representational practices in Western culture. As I have shown, Lewis's two works demonstrate that conventional monuments and cinema, though each often overlooked as highly charged political sites, display powerful symbolic meanings and each construct social values and perspectives even after their initial cultural purpose has passed.

In sum, I have shown that Lewis' use of allegory, enabled by his Benjaminian recovery of forgotten and/or outmoded fragments from cultural, artistic and political history and their juxtaposition with the present, provide a shared conceptual framework that has bridged the two mediums in which the works discussed are produced. As Barthes states:

It is no longer the myths which need to be unmasked (the doxa now takes care of that), it is the sign itself which must be shaken; the problem is not to reveal the (latent) meaning, is not to change or purify the symbols, but to challenge the symbolic itself.²⁹²

Lewis' two works, though not providing definite conclusions or answers to the complexity involved in political strategies of symbolic representation, emphasise the need for critical debate surrounding the function and involvement of ideology - utopian or otherwise - in public space through artistic and cultural production.

²⁹² Roland Barthes, "Change the Object Itself," in *Image-Music-Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 167.

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Fig. 1 Mark Lewis, *What is to be Done?* (1991). Photograph of installation in Parc Lafontaine, Plaster statue of Vladimir Lenin, painted in bronze coloured patina finish mounted on wooden plinth. Photo by Eames Gagnon in *Parachute* 65 (1992), 59.

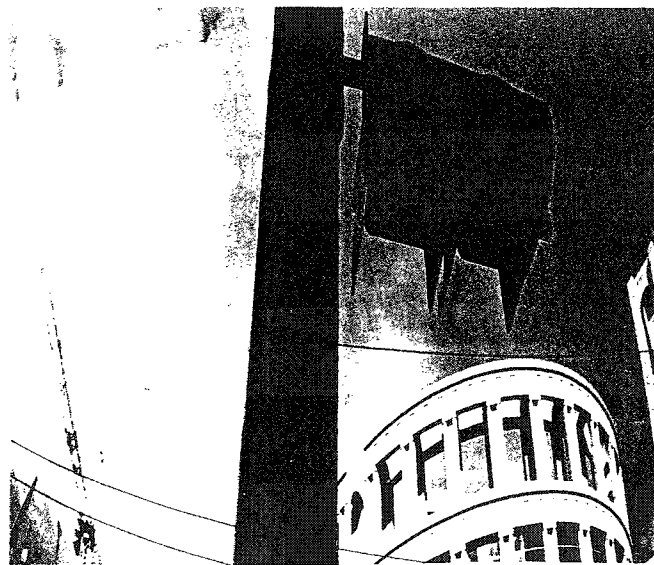


Fig. 2 Mark Lewis, *Two Impossible Films* (1995). 28 min loop. Segment shown *Das Kapital*. 35mm colour, cinemascope, sound, transferred to DVD. 14 min. Photo in *Mark Lewis Films: 1995-2000*, exhibition catalogue. London: Video and Film Umbrella, 2000, 15.

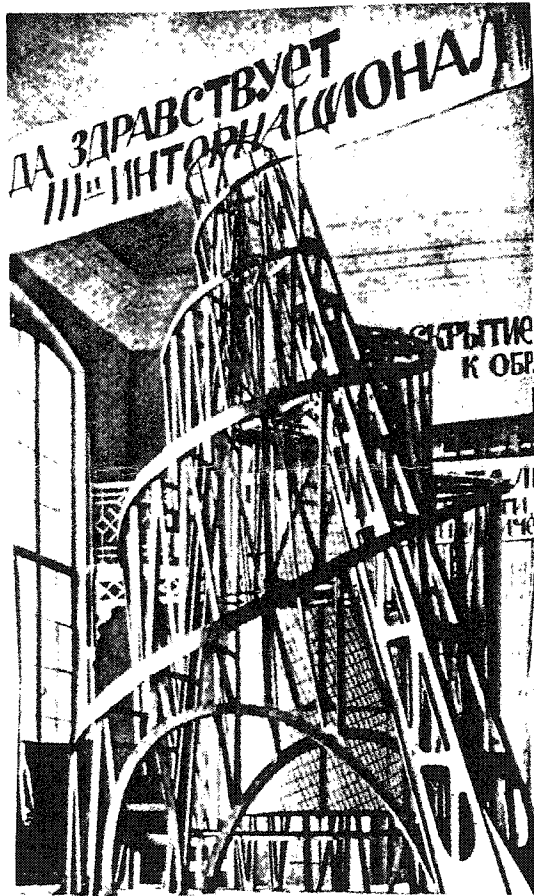


Fig. 3 Vladimir Tatlin, *Monument to the Third International*, model 1919-1920. (now destroyed), Photo in Rosalind Krauss, *Passages in Modern Sculpture*, Cambridge, Mass. London: The MIT Press. p. 60.



Fig. 4 Nikolai Kolli, *The Red Wedge Cleaving the White Block* (1918). Plaster and wood. Photo taken in Revolutionary Square, Moscow, 1918. Photo in *Parachute* 61, (Jan/fev/mar 1991), 33.



Fig. 5. François Girardon, Equestrian statue of Louis XIV, 1699, 5.8m bronze equestrian statue on 9.7m pedestal, Paris, Place Louis-le-Grand. Engraving by Le Pautre. Image in Cleary, *The Place Royale and Urban Design in the Ancien Regime*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p. 61.

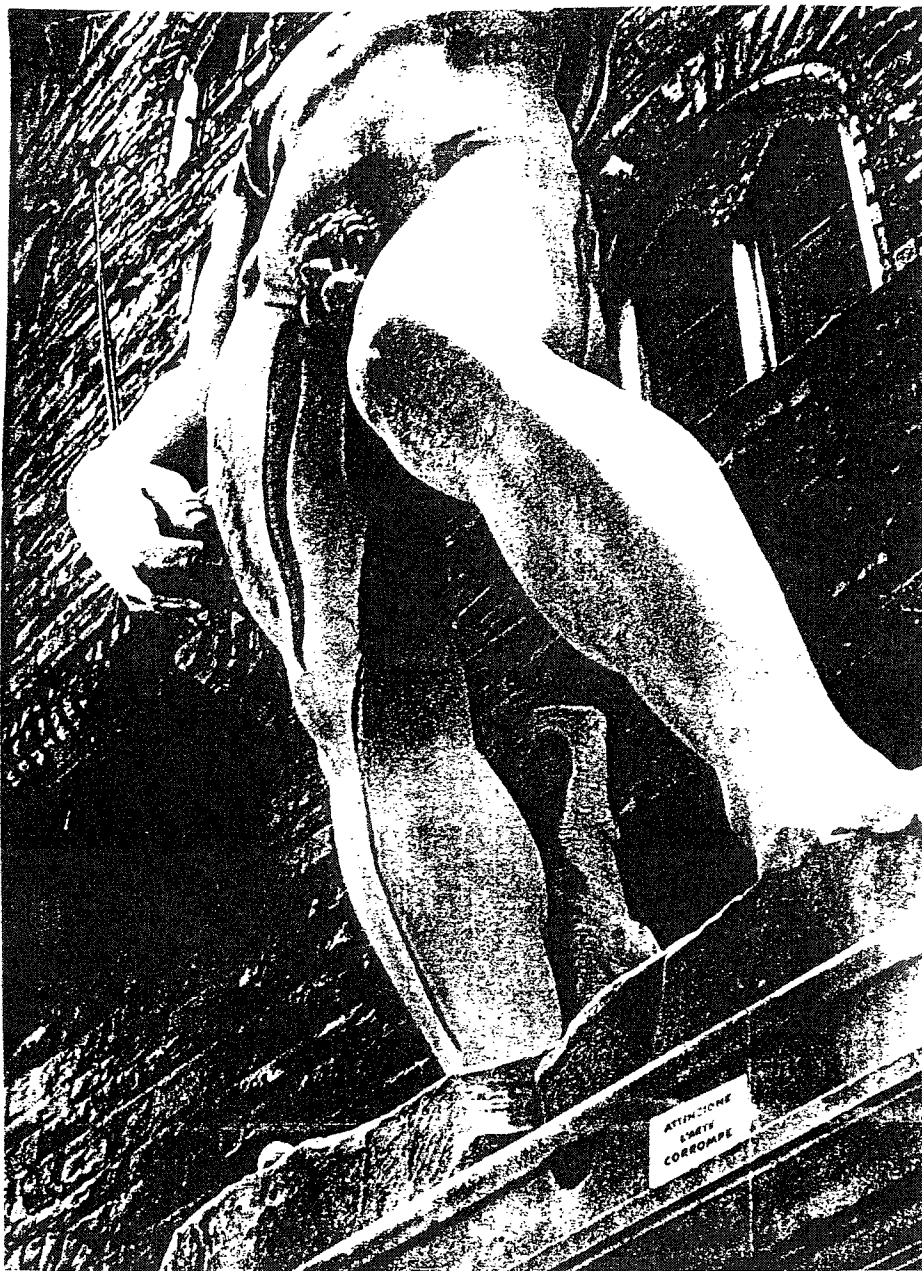


Fig. 7 Jochen Gerz, *L'arte Corrompe/Caution Art Corrupts/Achtung Kunst korrumpiert*. Florence, 1968. Adhesive poster, offset, 70 x 100 cm. Photo in *Jochen Gerz - Res publica: The Public Works 1968-1999*, Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 1999. p. 43.



Fig. 8 Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz,
Monument against Fascism, 1986-1993, Installation.
 Stele in galvanized tubular steel with lead coating with
 4 steel styluses, 1200 x 100 x 100 cm, weight ca. 7 tons,
 underground shaft depth – 14 m with observation window.
 Photo in *Jochen Gerz - Res publica: The Public Works*
 1968-1999, Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 1999. p. 9.

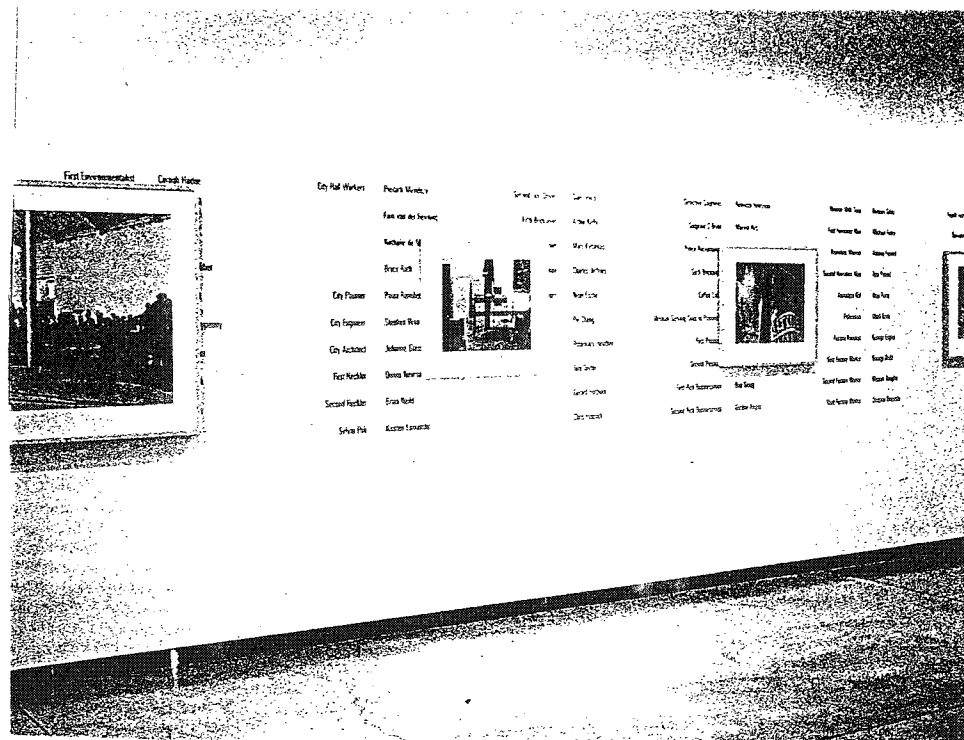


Fig. 9 Mark Lewis, *Two Impossible Films*, 1995.
Installation view of colour photographs and wall
mounted text, Photo in *Mark Lewis Films: 1995-2000*.
exhibition catalogue. London: Video and Film Umbrella, 2000.
p. 16

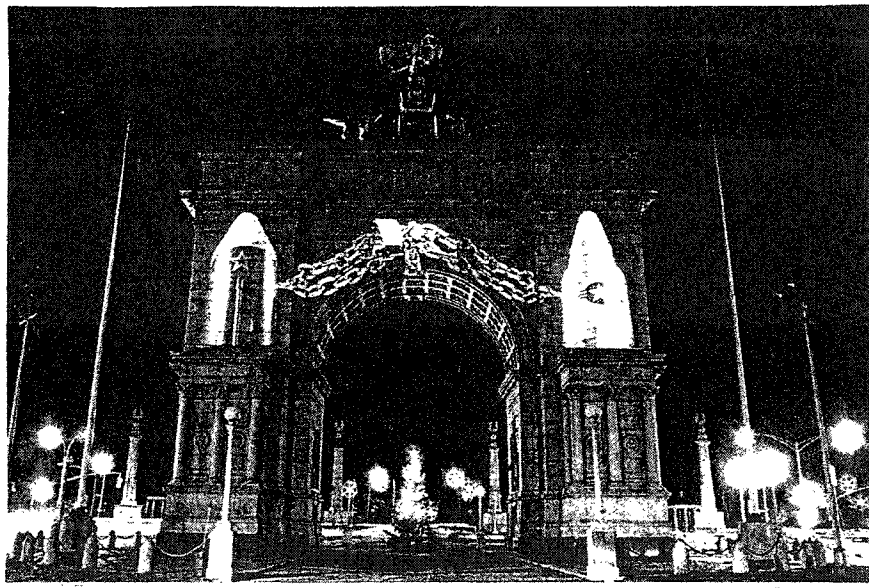


Fig. 10 Krzysztof Wodiczko, New Years Eve projection onto the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Arch, Grand Army Plaza, New York City, 11:30pm, 1984 - 12:30am, 1985. Photo in *Krzysztof Wodiczko: Critical Vehicles, Writings, Projects, Interviews*, Cambridge, Mass. London: MIT Press, 1998. p. 49.



Fig. 11 Michael Asher, *Untitled installation*, 1979.
Bronze copy of George Washington by Jean-Antoine Houdon outside at entrance to the Art Institute of Chicago.
Photo in Thomas Crow, *Modern Art in the Common Culture*, New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1996. p. 142.

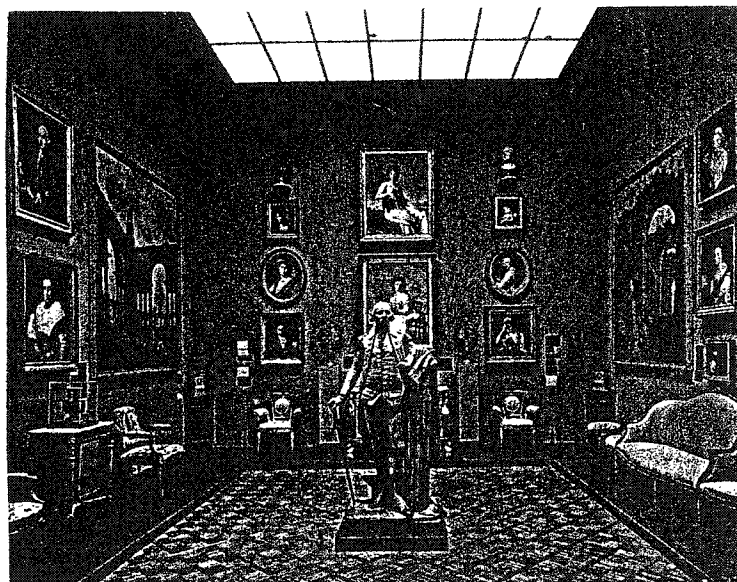


Fig. 12 Michael Asher, *Untitled installation*, 1979.
Interior installation of statue in Art Institute of Chicago.
Photo in Thomas Crow, *Modern Art in the Common Culture*, New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1996. p. 143.



Fig. 13 Mark Lewis, *What is to be Done?* (1991), Lenin in Quebec City in front of Boer War Monument. Plaster statue of Vladimir Lenin, painted in bronze coloured patina finish mounted on wooden plinth. Photo in Scott Watson, *Mark Lewis: Public Art – Photographs and Projects*, Exhibition catalogue, UBC Fine Arts Gallery, 1994. p. 13.

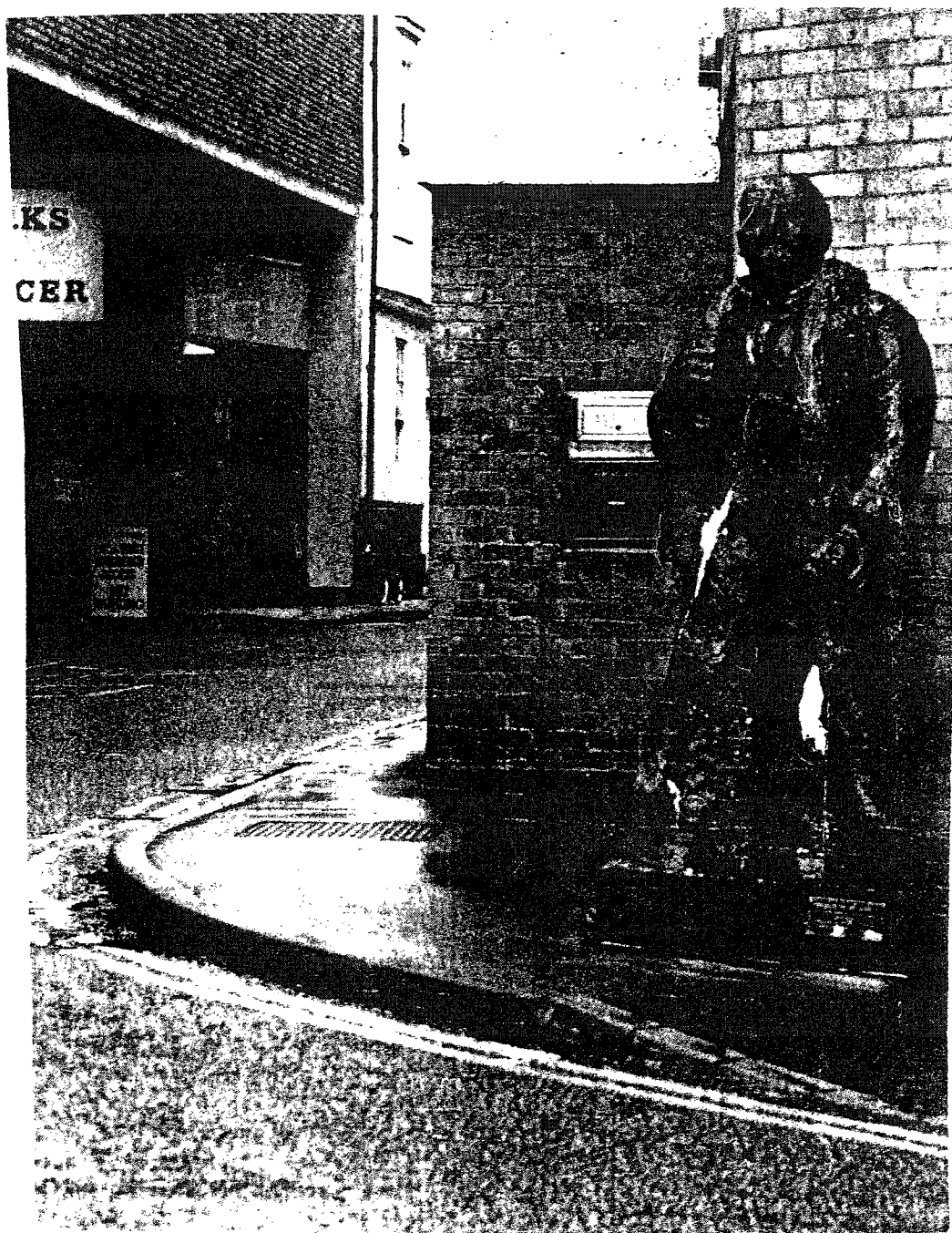


Fig. 14 Mark Lewis, *What is to be Done?* (1991), Oxford, England. Lenin facing Oxford Museum of Modern Art. Plaster statue of Vladimir Lenin, painted in bronze coloured patina finish mounted on wooden plinth. Photo in *Kunst & Museum Journal*, No. 2, 1990, 3.



Fig. 15 John Heartfield, *Deutsche Naturgeschichte*—*“German Natural History”*, Photomontage. 1934.
Photo in Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcade Projects*, Cambridge, Mass., London: MIT Press, 1989. p. 61.

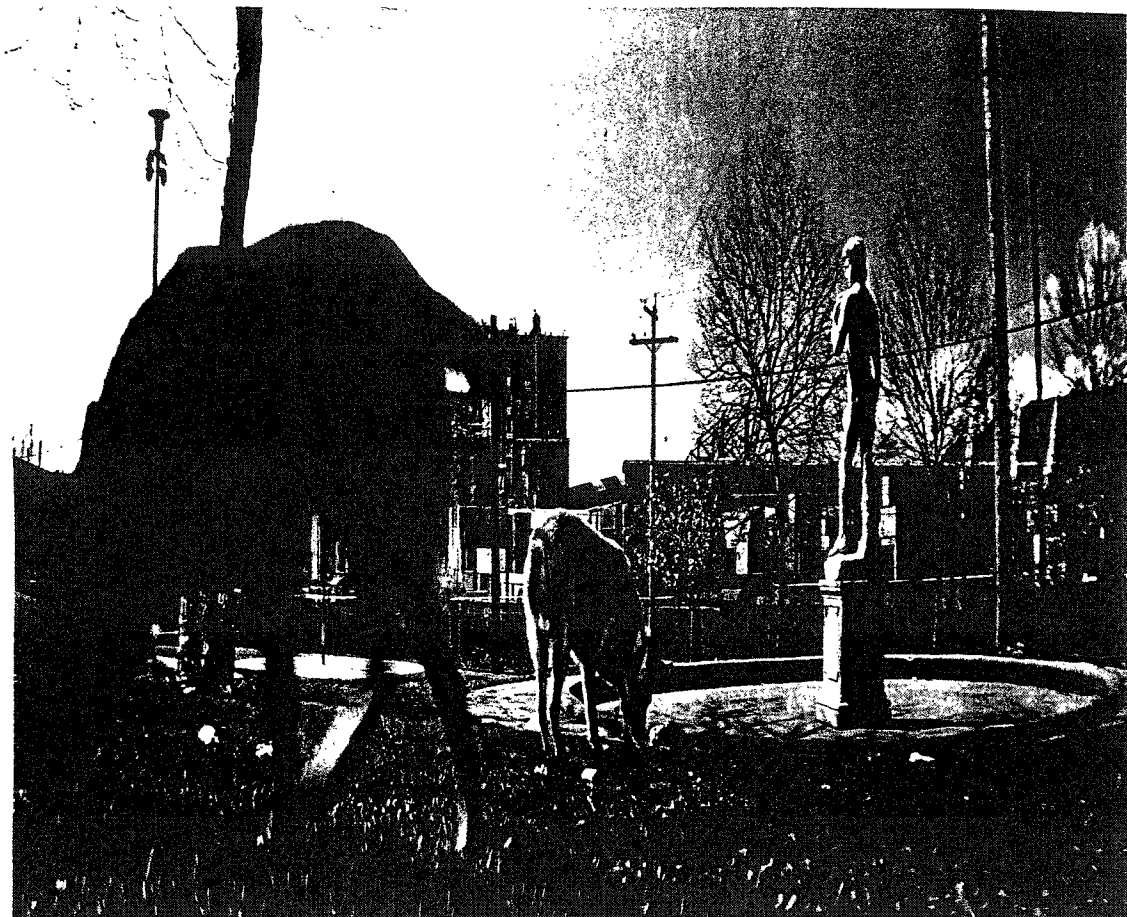


Fig. 16 Mark Lewis, *Two Impossible Films* (1995).
28 min loop. Segment from *The Story of Psychoanalysis*,
35mm colour, cinemascope, sound, transferred to
DVD. 13 min. Photo in *Mark Lewis Films: 1995-2000*,
exhibition catalogue. London: Video and Film Umbrella, 2000.
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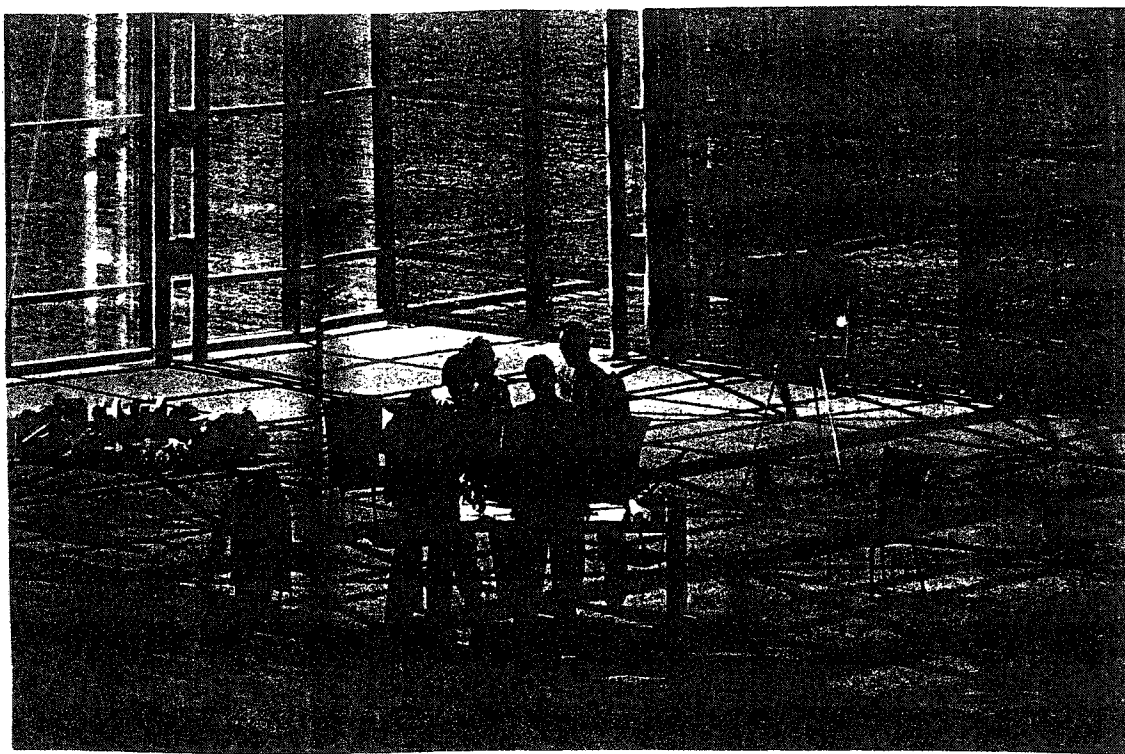


Fig. 17 Mark Lewis, *Two Impossible Films* (1995).
28 min loop. Segment shown *Das Kapital*.
35mm colour, cinemascope, sound, transferred to
DVD. 14 min. Photo in *Parachute*, 81 (1996), 32-33.